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bulletin

Palestine

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14 YEARS-PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

TO OUR READERS....

Solidarity is an important weapon in helping the oppressed peoples of the world win their struggles. Solidarity with the Palestinian people is an indispensible factor for the continuity of our just struggle and just cause. We are very grateful for the solidarity and support of all the honourable peoples of the world with the Palestinian cause. We have many friends all over the world, but our enemies are still strong and fierce. They have better weapons and equipment, their means are limitless.

The forces of liberation, on the other hand, possess limited means and equipment, but they have unlimited determination and will of continuous sacrifice for their just causes. However, we are the emerging forces and the forces of aggression are the declining ones. The future belongs to us for they have already had the past.

We thank all our friends all over the world for the letters of support and encouragement which you have sent to us.

We hope to continue on the road to victory.

Palestine

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YASSER ARAFAT'S ADDRESS ON REVOLUTION'S 14TH ANNIVERSARY

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, addressed the following message to the Palestinian people and to the militant Arab masses, on the eve of 1st January 1979, the 14th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution.

"The 14th year of our Revolution has gone by together with the fierce challenges and conspiracies that accompanied it, and which aimed at imposing the Zionist-imperialist conditions for capitulation on our people and on the Arab nation. During that year, the series of events that took place were accompanied by a series of decisive and historic revolutionary decisions to confront them:

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THREE BASIC DECISIONS

"Our revolutionaries took their firm decision to resist the American-Israeli military

move in South Lebanon, side-by-side with Lebanese nationalist fighters. In this they registered together a great military victory for the Arab nation throughout eight days and nights of fighting against a third of the Israeli army backed by the most modern and lethal U.S. weapons; and foiled the plot to liquidate the Revolution, its forces and leadership.

Then there was the revolutionary decision to consolidate the foundations of the Revolution and foil all plots to strike at it from within, including political assassinations. The Revolution emerged from this experience stronger, firmer and more confident in the face of the various challenges; and the decision remained revolutionary, Palestinian, and independent.

The third decision was the one taken by our people in occupied Palestine to confront Camp David and the 'self-rule' conspiracy, as an expression of correct revolutionary consciousness and independent Palestinian will.

In addition, our people continued tirelessly to escalate their military activities and their armed struggle according to a well-studied plan and in defiance of the enemy's potentials and of his allies and agents. They realised further victories, and gave the world proof of their profound understanding of the dimensions of the situation, and proof of the continuity and firmness of the Revolution, and of the independent Palestinian will and decision.

There were numerous other decisions, important and fateful in their political scope on all levels, such as: The effective role of the Revolution in the Front for Confrontation and Steadfastness; and its role in the strategic alliance and in the process of revolutionary choice between enemies and friends in the Arab region, the Middle East and the international theatre.

We took clear and principled stands with every unificatory move in the Arab region, particularly in the Arab Mashreq and on the northern front of confrontation with the enemy on the basis of clear and sound concepts and in the fight against all forms of oppression, domination, injustice and slavery, against old and new imperialists and colonialists, and against the Zionists and their agents.

Within the current of changes in this entire region, the Palestinian factor was dynamic in making effective and progressive steps forward — from Iran, the erupting volcano of Asia, to the revolutionaries in Africa, drawing its strength from its deep roots in the Palestinian homeland.

The 14th year with all its surprises and sacrifices, was able to transform the siege imposed on the Revolution with the aim of weakening, containing or liquidating it, into a strong shield protecting the Palestinian Revolution and people, their very existence, their achievements and their aspirations.

INTERNAL UNITY

In this 14th year, the Revolution was also able to realise further steps towards internal unity and to further close its ranks, for this unity is its main pillar and the measure of its ability to confront and to remain steadfast.

In this context, we must stress the importance of commitment to democracy, in word and in deed, in thought and in practice. We should also be aware that democracy should consist of commitment and duties for the sake of the Revolution and the people; and not a means to realise narrow personal or organisational gains at the expense of our principles and goals, and at the expense of this heroic people.

Year after year, the Revolution grows and becomes a reality in spite of all suspect and hostile plans and expectations, advancing the current of inevitable and natural historical development, and carrying the message of civilisation and progress of all revolutions launched against oppression and domination. Thus this Revolution represents the turning point in the progressive and civilised trends in this region. And the importance of this region, which lies in its strategic geographic position and its huge oil reserve, explains the motives behind the dogged attempts to deal a blow to the Revolution and to destroy it, in order to keep the region an easy and defenceless prey, and to keep this land a battlefield in which our enemies can exercise their expertise in looting its riches and resources, with the help to agents from this region. These agents have been blinded to the extent of covering this sacred land with poisonous agreements and pacts which enable the enemies of our nation to cross into the heart of our nation and impose their full control over it, under false slogans of peace. This represents a great danger for Palestine and its people, and also for the whole Arab nation, its future and destiny, and for the whole region of the Middle East; with all the inherent consequent dangers this would imply in terms of world peace.

THE TROJAN HORSES OF CAMP DAVID

In this regard, we must let the whole world — and particularly the Trojan horses drawing the Camp David cart — hear this call that I make in the name of our people and its revolutionaries, in the name of the Arab masses and of free and honourable men the world over: that there can be no peace, no security, no solution and no stability in this region through the neglect of the essence and basis of the problem, i.e. the inalienable national rights of our Palestinian people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to establish their independent state over their national soil under their sole leader, the PLO, which was recognised on all Arab and international levels.

Together with our brothers, allies and friends, we are building our road towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and not the peace imposed by the strong over the weak; not the peace dictated by the conditions for surrender and by the imposition of domination and control through dreams of empire, and dreams of colonial control and of settlements, of secure borders and of water sources which lead to the oil wells.

Let it be clear to all that our Revolution will not be defeated by this Zionist enemy, nor by the imperialist war machine, nor will it submit to the latter's conditions and kneel down, with those who have already complied, before the orders for surrender. This Revolution is firm like the mountains of our homeland, strong with its people and revolutionaries. We shall not be terrorized by the on-going military campaigns and air raids, nor will our people under occupation be intimidated by the terror and oppression practised against them.

THE ROAD TOWARDS FREEDOM AND LIFE

Our inevitable victory will come sooner or later, whether our enemies wish it or not; for this is the will of history, the will of blood and of Palestinian and Arab fists, the will of all that is great in this Arab nation; and the will of all who are honest, brave and just in the whole of progressive humanity.

These realities must be assimilated by those who are drawing or who are trying to draw new political maps of the region, or who are trying to prove the viability of new alliances. They should keep in mind — if they can still hear — that these plans to liquidate, dominate, control, destroy homelands and enslave peoples at the conference tables of Camp David and Blair House, will only pass over the dead bodies of the militants, honourable people and revolutionaries in the Arab nation, and of all freedom fighters in the whole region.

This was a quick review of what we are now living through and what we are about to face in the 15th year of our Revolution, the year of ashes and fire; the year of light and hope; the year of important events and surprises. Are we aware of the expectations and possibilities.

The road is long, difficult and harsh; but it is the road towards freedom, life, glory and dignity. And we shall remain side-by-side until we reach the walls of Jerusalem and raise the flag of our Revolution and of our Arab nation over it."

YASSER ARAFAT

Abu Amar, Abu Iyad, Abu Saleh, Abu Jihad...

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES ON 14TH ANNIVERSARY

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, received hundreds of cables on the occasion of the Palestinian Revolution's 14th anniversary, from the Heads of friendly states, Arab and International organizations, and Palestinian Popular Organizations, which all confirmed the Palestinian people's national rights to establish an independent state on Palestinian soil, and declared the Palestinian Revolution to be in the vanguard of the Arab liberation movement.

Among many others, messages reached the PLO from:

King Khaled Ben Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia;

The Prime Minister of Socialist Vietnam, Pham Van Dong;

President Ali Nasser Mohamed, Democratic Republic of Yemen;

The President of the People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto;

The President of the People Republic of China, Hua Kuo Feng;

President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic Korean Republic;

The Secretary-General of the Hungarian Popular Front, Stephan Carlos;

The President of Srilanka;

The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization;

The Central Committee of the Cypriot Communist Party Akel;

Vasos Lyssarides, President of the Cypriot Socialist Party;

The leadership of the Democratic Kurdish Party,

Arab and Palestinian Organisations:

The Lebanese National Movement;

The Lebanese National Front;

The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party;

The Mourabitoun Command Council;

The Communist Action Organization;

The Union of Ulama' in Lebanon

The International Union of the Arab Workers Syndicates;

The Palestinian Communist Movement in the West Bank;

The Communist Party in Jordan;

The Popular Committee of the al-Mieye wa-Mieye camp;

The Popular Committee of the al-Rashidieh camp;

The Popular Committee of the Nahr el-Bared camp;

The Popular Committee of the Ain Helweh camp;

The refugees of the Jisr-al-Basha camp;

The General Staff of the Palestine Liberation Army;

The Commander of the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command;

The Saiqa Forces;

The General Union of Palestinian Teachers;

The New Administrative body of the General Union of Palestinian Students;

The General Union of Palestinian Students' branches in Democratic Germany, Britain, Ireland, the People's Republic of China;

The Syndicates of agricultural and UNRWA workers in north Lebanon;

The General Union of Palestinian Engineers – Lebanon branch;

The Palestinian community in Sudan;

The Finnish Palestine Society.

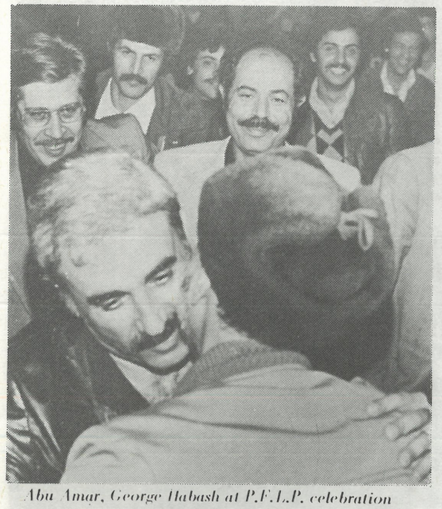
... at anniversary celebration

MOSCOW SOLIDARITY FESTIVAL ON 14th ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

The Society of Friendship and Solidarity with the Palestinian people on 27 December held a solidarity festival on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the launching of the Palestinian Revolution.

Yuri Barabash, first Deputy Minister of Culture and Chairman of the Friendship and Solidarity Committee, read parts of Brezhnev's message to the celebration, stressing that the Soviet Union will maintain its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and will never deviate from its policy of realizing a comprehensive settlement and a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

PALESTINE NOTES



Abu Amar, George Habash at P.F.L.P. celebration

8th G.U.P.S. Congress (with Farouk Kaddoumi)

POPULAR FRONT CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARY

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, on 10 December, held a popular rally on the occasion of its 11th anniversary. A popular march organized by the Popular Front which started from the Palestinian camps in Sabra, Shatila and Bourj al-Barajneh and went through the streets of Beirut, ended in the Municipal stadium, where the celebrations took place.

The ceremony was attended by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of Palestinian Revolution, Dr. George Habash, Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and several leaders of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement, along with members of the Arab and foreign Diplomatic corps in Lebanon, and thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese citizens.

Arafat delivered a speech on the occasion saying he was glad to celebrate with Dr. Habash and the Palestinian people the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the establishment of the P.F.L.P., in times when imperialist-Zionist forces and their agents in the region conspire against the Palestinian Revolution. He continued by praising the P.F.L.P for its commitment to armed struggle, a path the Front had chosen since it was the only way back to Jerusalem, Bir Saba, the Naqab, Haifa and Tel Aviv.

Finally, George Habash spoke stressing the Palestinian people's determination to continue their armed struggle until their national rights have been fully regained. He condemned the imperialist-Zionist-Sadat conspiracies against the Palestinian people and the "self-rule" plan which was signed by the US and both Sadat and the Israelis.

The political report affirmed the Union's commitment to the resolutions of the Palestinian National Congress. The final communique clarified the Union's attitude towards a variety of vital questions, particularly the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, Sadat's capitulation, the "self-rule" scheme, and the Jordanian regime.

GUPS HELDS 8TH CONFERENCE

The GUPS 8th General Conference was inaugurated on 18 December at Beirut Arab University with Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department, representing Chairman Arafat. The conference was also attended by several leaders of the Palestinian Revolution, the Lebanese National Movement, and the National Lebanese Front, and by representatives of student and international unions.

The GUPS ended its meetings early on 27 December, after adopting the general political report, and the concluding communique, and after electing the Administrative Council, the new Executive Committee and the Union's President.

The conference hailed the friendly and Socialist nations, headed by the Soviet Union, and the revolution of the Iranian people. It also demanded the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Cyprus, and the maintenance of its territorial integrity and unity. The conference also hailed the solidarity of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and the Syrian-Iraqi cooperation.

ARAFAT MEETS WITH CZECH DELEGATION

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and General Commander of the forces of the Palestinian Revolution, and Khaled al Fahoum, President of the Palestinian National Congress; on 20 December, received the Czechoslovak delegation currently visiting Syria and headed by comrade Vasil Bilak, member of the Czech Communist Party Central Committee and of the Party's General Secretariat.

During the meeting, which took place in Damascus, discussions centered on Palestinian – Czechoslovak relations, and on the latest developments in the Arab region and the Middle East.

The Czech delegation also expressed the support of their party and government for the Palestinian Revolution and people as well as for the latter's right to return, to establish an independent Palestinian state on their national soil and to exercise self-determination.

PLO OFFICIALS INVITED TO NORWAY

A delegation of Norwegian trade unionists visited Lebanon and the PLO in December 1978. They also attended the 6th Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Workers. At a press conference in Beirut, on 31 November 1978, the trade unionists denounced the decision to award the Nobel Prize to Israeli Prime Minister Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

ARAFAT, ABU LUTF RECEIVE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY DELEGATION

Chairman Arafat, on December 22, 1978 received a delegation of the British Labour Party, including a member of the Parliament and the President of the Middle East Committee and British trade union officials. The meeting discussed the latest developments on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels. Abu Lutf, Head of the PLO Political Department, later also received the British Labour Party delegation, with whom he discussed a number of important issues.

PLO WINS UN AID RESOLUTION

The United Nations General Assembly on December 22, 1978, approved a resolution to give aid to the Palestinian people via the PLO, in order to improve their social and economic conditions, on a footing of equality with developing states. The resolution calls on the UN Development Program (UNDP) and other UN agencies to intensify their respective efforts and contacts.

The resolution was voted for by 102 member states, while only the USA, Israel, Canada and Australia and Malawi voted against; the members of the European Economic Community abstained. The resolution passed despite various US manoeuvres and pressure attempts to prevent it.

Norwegian trade unionists visit PLO

"PALESTINE" ANALYSIS 1978:

14 YEARS OF PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

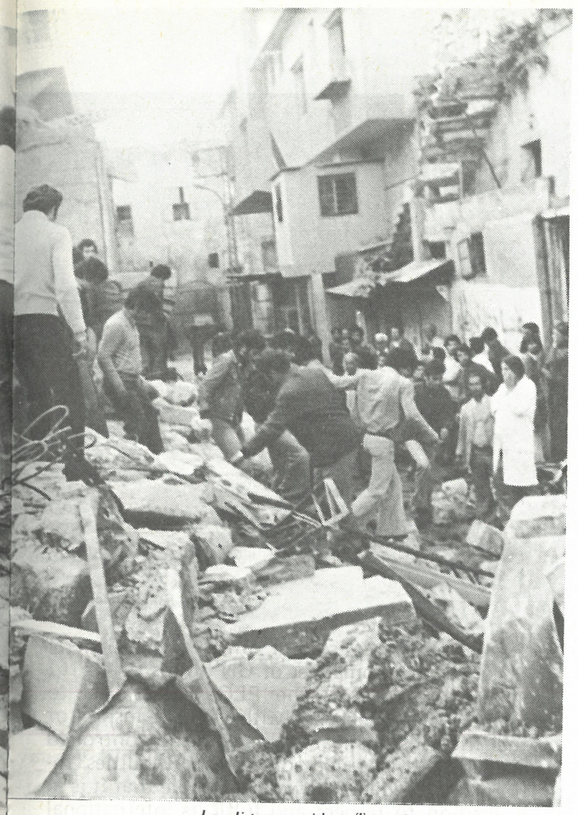
Palestine is the crux of the Middle East conflict, and without a just settlement of the Palestine question there will be no peace in the tormented Middle Eastern region. This fact is being increasingly understood all over the world. It is thanks to the perserverence of the Palestinian armed resistance against Zionist occupation and colonization that Palestine has restored its political identity. After fourteen years of the Palestinian Revolution, Palestine has become a political reality in the international arena.

The year 1978 was full of significant events and political developments. The fourteenth year of the Palestinian armed revolution was full of political and military successes as well as painful events. Revolutionary struggle is hard and always meets counterattacks from the enemies of freedom, justice, and peace. The Palestinian people, who have been waging a just struggle for more than thirty years, have endured many atrocities and cruelties on the road to liberation. But their perseverence has exceeded all expectations. Doomed to fail are all conspiracies to undermine their cause, their right to self-determination, and their right to establish their own independent state in their national homeland.

FAILURE OF ISRAELI MARCH AGGRESSION

One of the most important events of the year 1978, the fourteenth year of the Palestinian Revolution, was the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon. On 15 March, the Israeli aggressors attempted to crush the Palestinian forces in South Lebanon under the pretext of retaliation for the Palestinian resistance operation on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway. But after 8 days of hard battles between the Israeli attackers and the defending Palestinian-Lebanese joint forces, Begin asked for a cease-fire. The war in South Lebanon can be characterized as the fifth Middle East war between the Arabs and the Israelis. In this war the Israelis put into action one third of their military forces and used all their developed weapons, including their land, naval and air forces. More than 30,000 well-equipped Israeli soldiers were pushed into the battle to fight around 5,000 lightly armed Palestinians and Lebanese guerrilla fighters. Taking advantage of the mountainous region, the Palestinian-Lebanese defending forces were able to inflict heavy losses on the attacking Israelis. In spite of the unequal balance of forces between the attackers and the defenders, the Israeli invaders failed to achieve their main target of crushing the Palestinian forces.

World public opinion for the first time sided with the Palestinian side against the Israeli aggressors. The Palestinian fighters proved once again their capability to withstand superior Israeli forces. Ever since the Karameh battle, which took place in Jordan on 21 March 1968, the Israeli forces have never been in a position to win a battle against the Palestinian fighters. The



Israeli terror raid on Tyre, South Lebanon

fifth Middle East war increased the morale of the Palestinian fighters and enhanced the prestige of the PLO on all levels. It is also noteworthy to mention that for the first time no Arab country or Arab army took part in this battle. The myth of the invincibility of the Israeli army was given another blow and Israel's prestige was shaken, even within the Israeli settlement society itself.

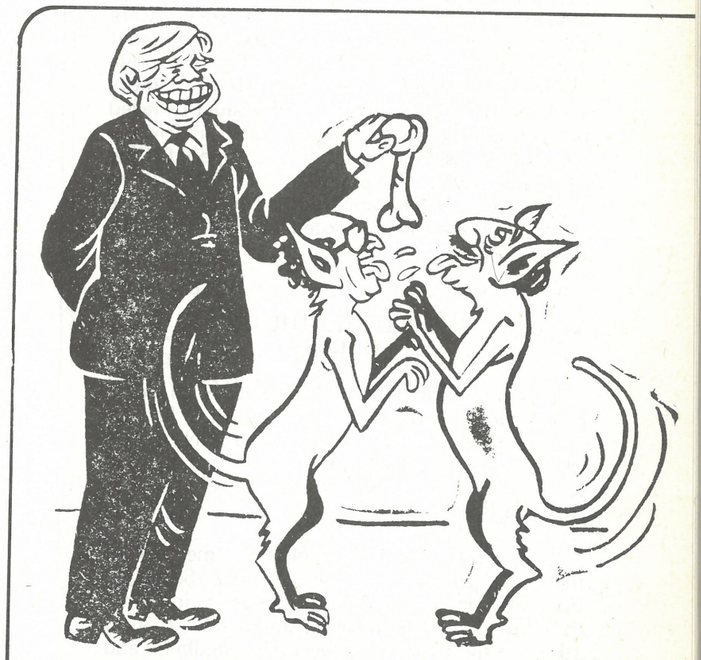
In spite of declarations from Sadat and Begin about "no more war", the Israelis invaded South Lebanon in order to liquidate the Fedayin. But their failure to achieve this target within the 24 hours they spoke of in their declarations moved world public opinion against them. The Palestinians proved through their heroic resistance that they can neither be militarily defeated nor politically by-passed. The PLO came out of this war as the victor.

SADAT'S INITIATIVE

The Sadat initiative, which started with his visit to Jerusalem on 19 November 1977, struck deeply into Arab pride and dignity. The Arabs, taking into consideration the justice of their cause, believe that they have been poorly understood by Western public opinion. They have been disappointed to see the West supporting Israeli injustice. The Arabs believe that they do not deserve such maltreatment from the Western countries.

In fact, the USA is not interested in a just peace, or even in any peace in the Middle East. President Carter's statements about peace and Human Rights do not reflect the real intentions of the US Administration. The US is more interested in exploiting the oil from the Middle East and recycling petro-dollars back into the United States, than in seeing a just peace in the region. The Human Right declarations of President Carter can be considered as a part of US cold war manoevers against the socialist countries. As a new President he is interested in polishing his image as a savior for the deteriorating US situation and economy. The fate of the Palestinian people and the justice of their cause do not have any priority in the US policy or in Carter's mind.

Knowing those facts, the PLO does not believe that Sadat's initiative, which is in fact a US plan, is an honest and sincere step towards peace. The PLO has condemned Sadat and his "peace" initiative and considers it a capitulation to Zionist-Israeli aggression and expansion. The Arab reaction to Sadat's initiative has been mostly critical. As a reaction to Sadat's appeasement policy, the Arab solidarity front was split and the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front



(YOONOS, Sri Lanka)

was created. Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Yemen and the PLO met in a summit conference for the second time in Algiers on 6 February 1978. The Palestinians who rejected Sadat's initiative launched a world wide campaign to interpret the Sadat initiative and explain its negative repercussions on the Palestine cause. As a part of this campaign, Chairman Arafat visited the Soviet Union and the GDR between March 9-12. In this visit Arafat conferred with Brezhnev about the repercussions of Sadat's policy on the course of events in the Middle East and the growing US influence in the area.

US PROMISES

Apparently the US promised a lot to Sadat in order to convince him to start his initiative. They promised him countless dollars and technical aid to alleviate the malaise of his collapsing economy. He thought that whenever he settles his conflict with Israel he can concentrate his efforts on the economic development of Egypt. But in fact, the US is using him as a tool in the service of its economic and political interests in the region. It is naive to believe that the US is neutral in the Middle East conflict, for it has been completely biased in favour of Israeli aggression and expansion for more than thirty years, i.e., since the Truman Administration.

The US arms package deal to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Israel againclearly showed the US bias in favour of the Israelis, since the Israelis were given the lion's share of the weaponry. Sadat was given 50 F-5E short range jet fighters, while the Israelis on the other hand got 15 of the more sophisticated F-15s and 75 F-16s. Sadat believed he had achieved a big success with his friends, the Americans, but in fact he was duped. On the economic level, the Egyptians are still waiting for the boom which apparently will never come because of the deeply-rooted corruption in the administration.

THE PLO AND THE UN FORCES

Although not mentioned explicitly in Security Council Resolution 425, the PLO had its international role enhanced. The UN troops which were sent to Lebanon have had to deal with the PLO as an equal partner in the conflict with the Israelis.

Because the PLO is an observer member of the UN, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, came to the PLO headquarters in Beirut to confer with Chairman Arafat on 17 April 1978. In the meeting between Dr. Waldheim and Chairman Arafat, they discussed the mission of the UN troups to facilitate an immediate Israeli withdrawal from South Lebanon. Chairman

Said Hamami,

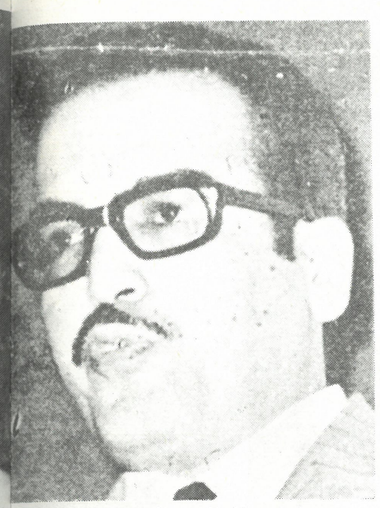
Arafat also met several times with General Erskine, the commander of UN troops (UNIFIL) in South Lebanon. The PLO did its best to maintain good relations with UNIFIL inspite of the frictions instigated by some uncontrolled elements. It shouldered its responsibilities towards the UN, and showed the whole that it is in a position to respect and fulfil its international obligations and commitments.

Due to the international pressure on the Israelis they were forced to witdraw from South Lebanon on 13 June 1978, but their agents, the Lebanese rightist militias, still hold some pockets in the South. The Israelis hope to use their Lebanese rightist militias to set up the so-called "security belt" along their northern borders. In spite of the presence of the UN troops in the South the Israelis are working deliberately and systematically to achieve that aim.

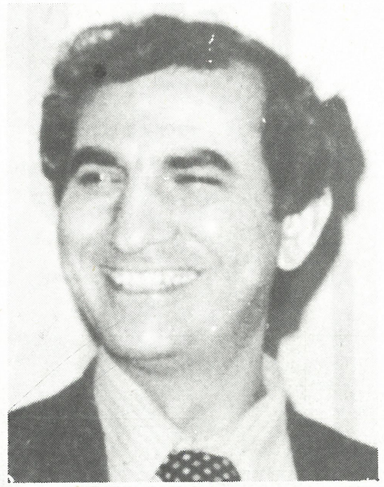
THE DISPUTE WITH IRAQ

The dispute between the PLO and Iraq broke out as a result of the assassination of the PLO representative in Kuwait, Ali Nasser Yassine, on 16 June. Radio Baghdad and other affiliated radio stations hailed the death of Ali Yassine just as they had hailed previously the assassination of Said Hammami, the PLO representative to Britain who was assassinated in his London office on 4 January.

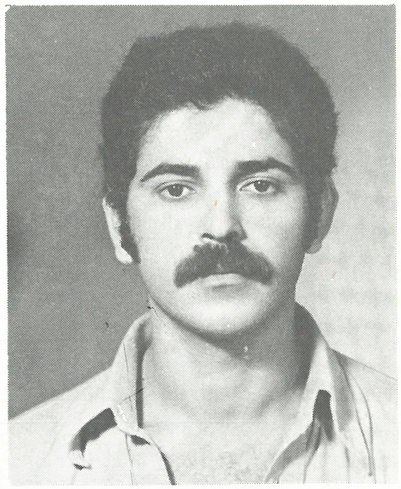
As a reaction to this violence some Palestinian elements who were furious about this Iraqi attitude attacked some Iraqi embassies, but no Iraqi officials were harmed. The Iraqi secret service then attacked and killed Ezzedine Kalak, the PLO representative in Paris, and his aide Adnan Hammad. They also attacked the PLO office in Pakistan and killed three Palestinian



Ali Nasser Yassine,



Ezzedine Kalak,



Adnan Hammad

students who happened to be present at the office.

The PLO then issued several communiques and statements attacking the Iraqi regime, and the Central Council of the PLO adopted measures to boycott all inter-Arab conferences in Iraq. Fateh issued a public memorandum on 17 July criticising the Iraqi government and attacking former Iraqi attitudes towards the Palestinian Revolution. The political climate between Iraq and the PLO deteriorated and a war of propaganda and counter propaganda broke out between them.

The relationship between Iraq and the PLO remained cool and even hostile until the Arab Summit Conference which was held in Baghdad at the beginning of November. Bilateral talks between Chairman Arafat and the Iraqi President and his influential deputy, Saddam Hussein, took place and ameliorated the political climate. Both sides demonstrated their desire to put the past behind them and to open up a new page of Palestinian-Iraqi cooperation and mutual benefit.

THE LEEDS CASTLE TALKS

The US-sponsored Mideast talks in Britain at Leeds Castle during the second half of July were hosted by the US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance. In order to revive Sadat's initiative the US invited the foreign ministers of Egypt and Israel to discuss unresolved issues. At this conference they dealt with the problem of the Israeli settlements in Sinai and the future of the Palestinian territories occupied of 1967. They also talked about the proposed five-years transitional period to be given to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But the conference was a complete failure due to the gap separating both sides, and due to the Israeli refusal to made and real concessions to Sadat.

YOUTH FESTIVAL IN CUBA

The eleventh International Youth Festival, which took place in Cuba on 28 July, was an important milestone in the Palestinian just struggle on the international level. The Festival was a big international demonstration of solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people and their armed revolution. The Palestinian Liberation Movement is increasingly becoming a symbol for all liberation movements throughout the world. It is the heir of the Vietnamese Revolution in this respect, and nowadays it enjoys the respect of all peace - and freedom-loving peoples around the world.

Chairman Arafat visited the Youth Festival in Havana as a guest of honour and was welcomed and received by Fidel Castro, the Cuban President. In this Festival the youth of the world sang Palestinian resistance songs and danced to the tunes of Palestinian resistance music.

CAMP DAVID

In order to achieve a breakthrough in the stagnation created by Israeli stubbornness, President Carter invited both Sadat and Begin to meet in Camp David on 5 September. On Sadat's insistence, Carter entered the Mideast negotiations as a "full partner" in the hope of keeping the Sadat initiative alive. Sadat wanted to involve US President Carter in the talks in order to exert more pressure on the intransigent Israelis, who disliked this US role.

President Carter staked his own prestige on

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko With Chairman Arafat

this dramatic effort to find a way out of the stalemate created by Begin's government. The negotiations at Camp David were very hard, but after 12 days of ups and downs the three leaders, Carter, Begin and Sadat, signed an agreement which was known as the Camp David accord. Carter could not leave Camp David without a success because he had invested so much of his own personal prestige in the meeting.

The Camp David accord was a disgrace to Sadat who, even on the Egyptian level, could not achieve concrete results.

The Palestine question was supposed to be fragmentarily "solved" by a self-rule scheme for the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, which would mean the legalization of the Israeli occupation. But as for the Palestinians who are living in the refugee camps in the Arab countries, no concrete solution was mentioned. The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, was not mentioned at all.

To sum up, the Camp David accord was an Israeli-US accord at the expense of the Palestinian people. At Camp David Sadat gave all the concessions while the Israelis got the lion's share. Sadat settled the Sinai problem at the expense of the Palestine cause.

The reaction to Camp David on the Arab level was all negative, and the Arab countries criticized the accord as a sell-out. As a result of the Camp David accord the split in the Arab solidarity front was deepened. The third summit conference of the Confrontation and Steadfastness States was summoned in Damascus on 20-23 September 1978. Libya, Algeria, Syria, South Yemen and the PLO discussed the negative repercussions of the Camp David accord on the Palestine cause and the Arab nation. The Steadfastness Front decided to confront the Camp David accord and its result with all means at the Front's disposal.

The PLO rejected the Camp David accord in its totality, and condemned Sadat as a stooge of Zionism and US imperialism. The Palestinian people inside the occupied territories refused the self-rule project proposed by the Camp David accord. All mayors and notables of the occupied territories gave a clear "no" to the self-rule project, and insisted on the proclaimed PLO

At Cuba Youth Festival: PLO delegation, led by Fatima Bernawi

goal: the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. They also rejected the transitional period of 5 years set for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the West Bank and Gaza.

The Israeli interpretation of the Camp David accord clarifies the colonialist ambitions of Israel in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. They want to retain the right to keep a part of their armed forces in strategic points of the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli settlements (colonies) will not be removed and they want to maintain their right to build new ones. According to their slogans and declarations, "Judea and Samaria" have to remain a part of "Eretz Israel", which still has no final borders. The anti-Sadat front came to include broader circles in the Arab world, and the refusal of the Camp David accord became increasingly vehement.

THE BAGHDAD SUMMIT

The Arabs who opposed the Sadat initiative sharply criticized the Camp David accord. Although they refused to join the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation due to some internal differences on the Arab level, they asked to convene an Arab Summit conference in Baghdad. The Arab states accepted the invitation and the Baghdad Summit was held from 2-5 November. In this conference all the Arab states rejected the results of Camp David and Sadat was totally isolated. The summit adopted boycott measures against Sadat which will come into effect when he signs a separate peace treaty with Israel. It contributed financially to King Hussein, Syria and the PLO, and a budget was allocated to support the steadfastness and firmness of our people inside the occupied territories. Sadat, who hoped that Hussein would join him in the Camp David accord, was left all by himself.

Politically, the Baghdad Summit conference was a success for the Arab nation which enables the Arabs to face the US conspiracies and Sadat's appeasement policy. It is due to the Baghdad Summit that Sadat did not sign the separate peace treaty with Israel on 17 December. Sadat is totally isolated, and his theory that the Arabs can do nothing without Egypt has proven to be completely wrong.

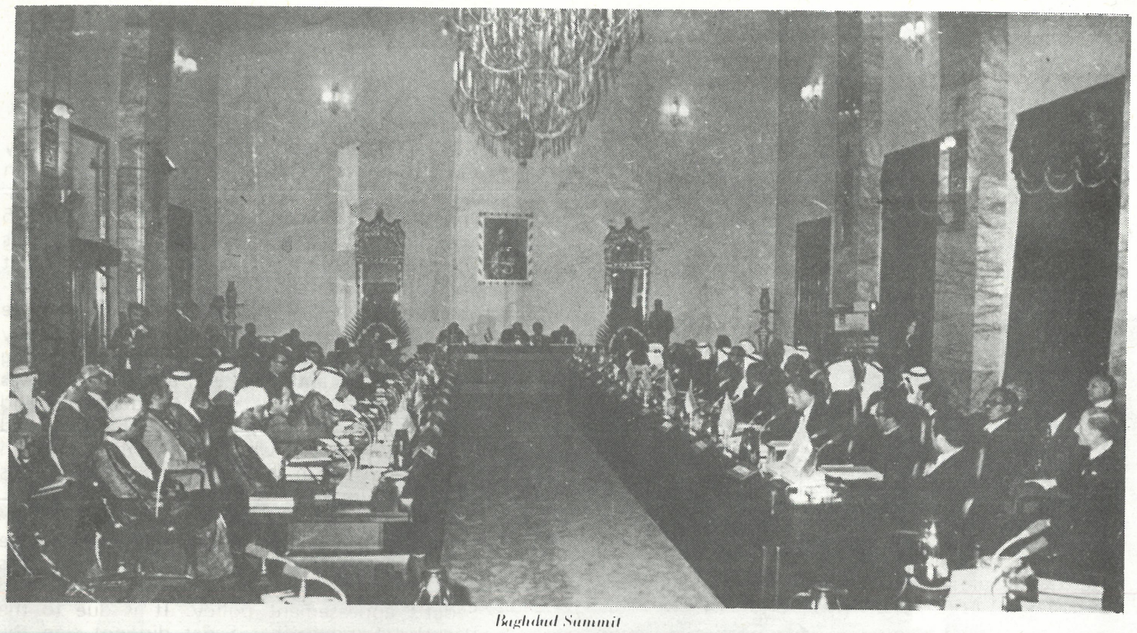
RESULTS AND ASSESSMENTS

The fourteenth year of the Palestinian Revolution marked a milestone on the way of Palestinian revolutionary struggle. The Palestinian Revolution once again endured hard and severe circumstances. It heroically withstood all counterrevolutionary attacks launched by the enemy camp, and was able to score significant successes and victories. The Palestinian Revolution continued its struggle on all levels without hesitation, paving the way for the future of the just Palestinian cause. It developed all its means and capabilities on the social level as well as on the military level. It increased its social work amongst the masses, providing them with facilities of work, free medical treatment, schools and other services. The fourteenth year of the Palestinian Revolution can be assessed as follows:

On the Palestinian Level

As long as a revolution grows, counter-attacks of the enemy camp grow and develop. Counter-revolutionary attacks on the Palestinians often take different shapes and use various means. But despite all plots the Palestinian revolution continued its struggle on the Palestinian level and achieved many successes.

1. The Palestinian revolution stepped up its armed resistance inside the occupied territories.



Baghdad Summit

The peak of its operations inside the occupied territories was the operation which was led by Dalal Moghrabi on the Haifa-Tel Aviv highway on 11 March 1978. The military operations covered all the occupied territories.

2. The Palestinian armed resistance to the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon was a great success for the Palestinian Revolution.

3. Palestinian unity was developed, especially during the 8-day war of the South where all Palestinian fighters fought under one combined leadership.

4. The PLO refused the Sadat initiative and the outcome of the Camp David accord.

5. The unity between the Palestinian people inside the occupied territories and the PLO was enhanced, especially vis-a-vis Camp David.

6. The PLO's role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people was strengthened.

The Lebanese Level

On the Lebanese level the Palestinian Revolution set forth its political line against the conspiracy of the Phalangist forces, the agents of the Israelis.

1. The Palestinian Revolution developed its relations with the Lebanese National Movement as the strategic ally of the Palestinian Revolution.

2. The Palestinian Revolution, together with the forces of the Lebanese National Movement, heroically withstood the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon.

3. It strengthened its relations with the Lebanese masses on the social, economic and political levels.

4. It rejected the conspiracy of Palestinian resettlement in Lebanon, which was one of the secret results of the Camp David accord.

5. It provided protection to UNIFIL and cooperated with them to facilitate the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the South.

The Arab Level

1. It helped create the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation against the Sadat initiative and the Camp David results.

2. It strengthened the relationship with Syria on all levels.

3. It reactivated the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue.

4. It isolated Sadat on the Arab level and unmasked him as a stooge of Zionism and imperialism.

5. It strengthened its role as a political factor on the political level, and especially in the Arab Summit at Baghdad.

6. It settled the dispute with Iraq, which erupted as a result of the assassination of PLO representatives abroad.

The International Level

In the fourteenth year of its armed struggle the Palestinian Revolution enlarged the ranks of its supporters and sympathisers. It imposed itself more and more as an important political factor in spite of Zionist and US attempts to bypass the PLO in all Mideast settlements. The heroic Palestinian resistance to the Israeli forces enhanced the PLO's role on all levels including the international level. The eleventh Youth Festival in Cuba was an important indication that the PLO is gaining daily. On the international level the PLO achieved the following:

1. It maintained its role as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

2. It demonstrated that it cannot be neglected or ignored in spite of all US and Zionist plots.

3. The increase of world solidarity with the just cause of the Palestinian people.

4. The real face of Zionism as an expansionist and aggressive movement was increasingly exposed.

5. The PLO developed its relations with all peace-loving forces in the world, including the socialist countries, African countries, the Islamic countries, and the non-aligned countries.

6. The PLO received the support of all liberation movements throughout the world, including the Iranian Revolution which is fighting against the despotic imperial regime.

The Israeli Level

Despite continuous Israeli attempts to undermine and liquidate the Palestinian Revolution and the Palestine cause, Zionism failed to silence the Palestinian voice. In its fourteenth year the Palestinian Revolution continued its armed resistance deep in the heart of the Zionist state. In the fourteenth year of the Palestinian Revolution the Zionist state was subjected to many problems as a result of the Palestinian armed resistance.

1. Escalating armed resistance against the occupation creates insecurity within the Zionist settler society.

2. As a result of the war in the South, the "Peace Now" movement was created and brought about 40,000 Israelis into the streets to demonstrate for peace against Begin's expansionist policy.

3. Permanent mobilization of the occupation army increased the financial deficit in the Israeli budget, which is permanently covered by the US.

4. Emigration from Israel to Western Europe and the US increased.

5. The immigration to Israel is decreasing in spite of the budget alloted to for immigration.

6. The inflation rate inside Israel reached the rate of 45% in the year 1978.

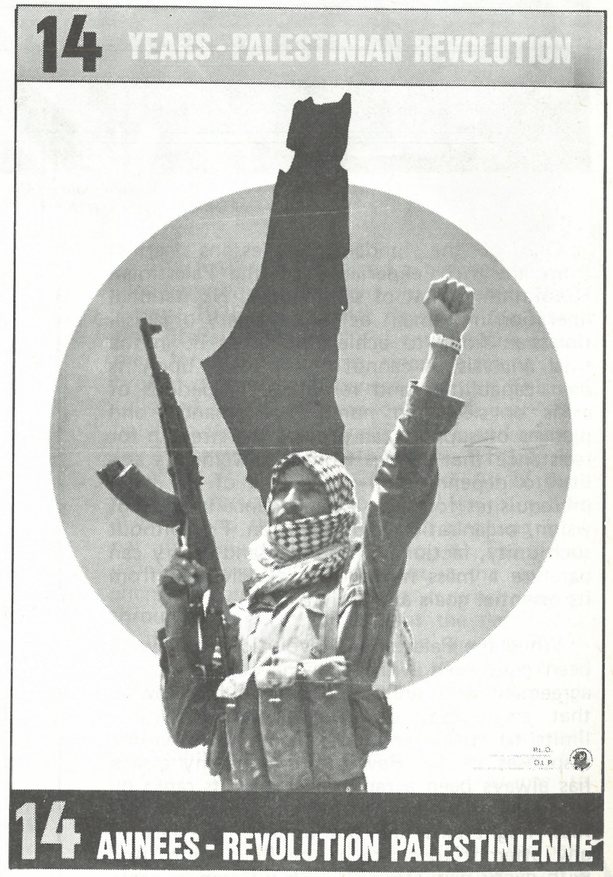
7. Foreign debts totaled an amount of over 11 billion dollars, which means that every Israeli citizen is in debt to the tune of 5,000 $.

CONCLUSION

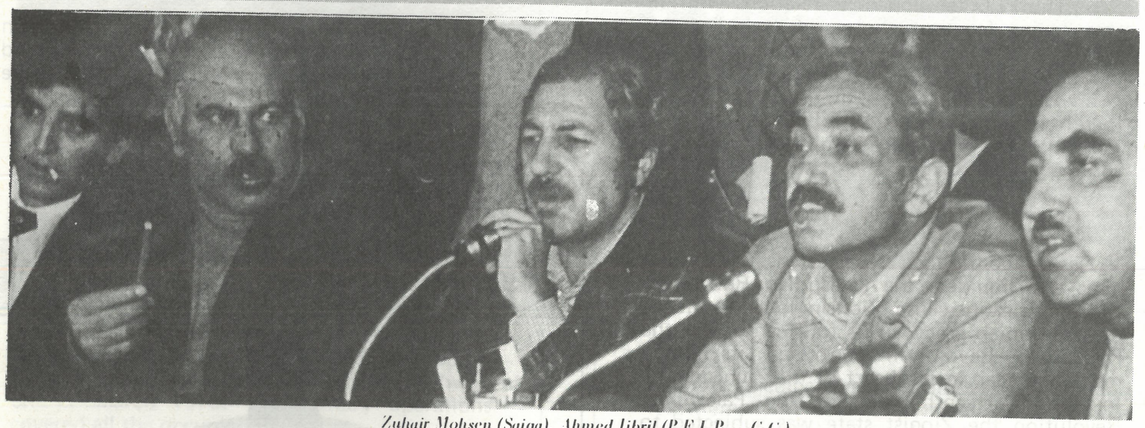
In its fourteenth year the Palestinian Revolution continued its march with solid steps towards its defined goal. It overcame all problems and hardships and was able to score important success on the way to victory. The Palestinian Revolution is aware of the great responsibility it is shouldering and of the severity of the struggle it has launched. Chairman Arafat used to tell everybody who asked him about the difficulty of the revolutionary struggle: "The Revolution is not a picnic." It is a protracted liberation war, the war of small successes against a strong enemy, against Zionist settler colonialism. This type of colonialism is similar to South African colonialism, or even worse because the Zionists expel the indigenous population from their country. The Zionists use emotional religious and national slogan to justify and motivate their settler colonialism, which complicates the whole situation.

On its fourteenth anniversary, the Palestinian Revolution pledges to all peoples of the world and to its friends and supporters to continue the revolutionary struggle.

Revolution until victory!



PALESTINIAN NATIONAL UNITY: A VITAL STEP TOWARDS LIBERATION



Zuhair Mohsen (Saiqa), Ahmed Jibril (P.F.L.P. – G.C.), George Habash (P.F.L.P.), Abu Iyad (Fatch).

One of the fundamental lessons learned from the rich experience of the Palestinian Revolution is that of self-reliance. No national liberation movement or revolutionary organisation can hope to achieve its aims if, in the final analysis, it cannot count solely upon its own capabilities and resources. In periods of crisis or siege, no number of alliances and pledges of support can provide the strength for resistance that springs from a movement's ability to depend upon itself. One of the basic prerequisites for such a dependence is unity of vision, organisation and execution. For without such unity, factional differences and rivalry can paralyse a mass movement and divert it from its essential goals and activity.

While the Palestinian Revolution has always been concerned with achieving deeper internal agreement and unity, it has also been aware that each stage of struggle dictates certain limits to such consensus. One of the natural responses of the Revolution to enemy attack has always been a rapid closing of its ranks on all levels. Whatever tactical differences of opinion might exist are put aside in the face of any attempt to strike at the Revolution. And with every new attempt, such differences become increasingly insignificant as it becomes clearer to all that ultimately, in the struggle with Zionism and Imperialism, it is the very existence of the Palestinian people and Revolution that is threatened. In the light of that, unity in facing the enemy is an essential key to victory. Yet any program of unity that ignores the objective circumstances of the struggle would be unrealistic and simply empty rhetoric.

Throughout its history, the Palestinian national liberation movement has suffered from the positive and negative aspects of being a broad national movement. In addressing itself to the spectrum of Palestinian, Arab and international political opinion, the Palestinian Revolution has embraced a large variety of ideological tendencies. While on the one hand such differentiation of support has provided the Revolution with wide reaching influence and strength, it has also meant that unity of purpose and action are even more difficult and thus more vital to maintain. The importance of national unity for the Palestinian liberation movement is therefore both a matter of principle and practice. And it is on this basis that strenuous efforts have been exerted since the

National unity in the face of Zionist imperialist conspiracies

inception of the Revolution, and especially in recent years, to translate the practical lessons of struggle into a minimum program of political and organisational agreement between the different tendencies and factions of the PLO.

THE FATEH PROGRAM

Imperialism and Zionism have employed a wide variety of methods in their campaign against the Palestinian Revolution. These have ranged from attempts at physical liquidation either directly or through the help of local agents, to more recent attempts at hitting the Revolution from within. The Palestinian answer to this and to the U.S. engineered Zionist-Sadat conspiracy against Palestinian rights was clear: increased resistance, increased steadfastness, increased unity. The consolidation of this decisive response came in the form of an all-out effort to formulate a political framework for the beginning of organisational unity of the different groups within the P.L.O. Through an open dialogue that lasted several months and involved all sectors of the Revolution, the process towards complete unification has been successfully initiated.

The first stage involved a number of meetings between the different organisations. On 17 August 1978, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.) and SAIQA groups met for the first time since relations were broken during the Lebanese civil war. This was followed by a meeting on 18 August 1978 between the P.F.L.P. and FATEH, and another on 21 August 1978, between the P.E.L.P. and the P.F.L.P. – General Command. All of these meetings focused on two central issues: national unity and the importance of resolving internal differences through dialogue. This latter point was especially important in the wake of enemy attempts to foment internal discord through such criminal acts as the destruction of the building in the Fakhani area of Beirut on 13 August 1978, resulting in the death of 190 men, women and children.

This activity was quickly followed up with the beginning of the open dialogue over the question of national unity. In response to suggestions made by five commando groups about organisational reform in the P.L.O., FATEH proposed a complete program for national unity on 9 August 1978. Aside from a political section which reaffirmed FATEH's

well known position, the FATEH program was divided into two organisational points: The first proposed a series of steps to unify the military forces of the Revolution and reorganise the military leadership of those forces. The second part dealt with the abovementioned suggestion of the five organisations (four groups of the "Rejection Front", and the Democratic Popular Front, D.P.F.) to form an executive body including the General Secretaries of the different groups to formulate political decisions of the Revolution. The FATEH program called for the consolidation of the P.L.O. Executive Committee as the leader of political action and for its re-organisation and the participation of the General Secretaries of the different organisations in the Executive. The most important characteristic of the FATEH program was that it was not overly ambitious and set out realistic suggestions for unity.

PROPOSALS OF THE OTHER GROUPS

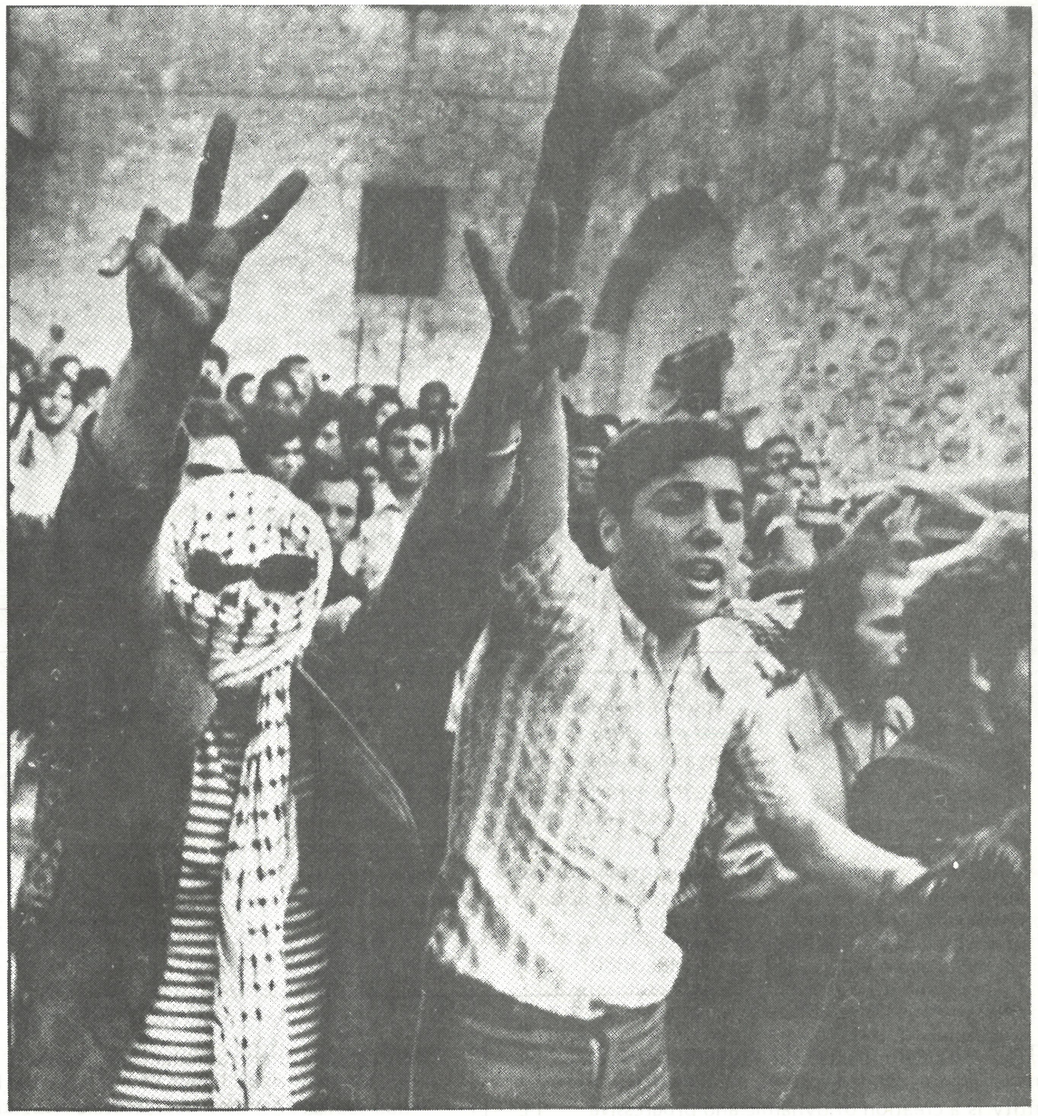
The other factions of the Revolution responded with their own programs. The D.P.F.'s program highlighted an important political turnabout in the analysis of the general political situation, from one of reckoning with the possibility of a peaceful settlement acceptable to the Revolution to one which considered the regional balance of forces to be in the enemy's interest. Organisationally, the D.P.F. proposed two main points: unity on the basis of a front in which each faction retains its organisational and ideological independence, and immediate unity on all levels of the P.L.O. from the Executive Committee through the military to the popular organisations. The principle of collective leadership was to be upheld through decisions taken by the majority with the minority retaining the right to publicize its objections.

The program proposed by the four 'Rejection Front' groups included a number of similar organisational and military proposals. It called for 'relative equality in representation' of the different groups throughout the P.L.O. and a reorganisation of the Palestinan National Council and the Central Council, the highest constitutional bodies within the P.L.O. Politically, the 'Rejection Front's' program did not seriously differ from those of the other groups except in its claim that differences of opinion within the Revolution about how best to deal with the question of the 'peaceful settlement' were responsible for divisions and contradictions in the positions of the different factions.

After all these programs had been proposed to the P.L.O. Central Council for review and numerous bilateral meetings held to discuss them, the Central Council met on 23 August 1978. The meeting was not attended by the P.F.L.P. and two other 'Rejection Front' groups, so the Central Council formed a committee composed of the members of the Executive Committee, some members of the Central Council and the General Secretaries of the groups. This 'National Unity Committee' held several meetings over the suceeding weeks in Damascus and Beirut. The P.F.L.P.'s participation in these meetings helped lead to the eventual reconciliation between the P.F.L.P. and the Syrian Government after almost ten years of differences. Thus, in late October, final agreement was reached upon a political and organisational program for national unity which is to be proposed to the upcoming Palestinian National Council meeting in January 1979 for discussion and approval.

PALESTINIAN CONSENSUS

The most important result of these efforts is definitely the political program that was reached between the different groups. It provides an important context for any steps to complete unity to be taken in, as it helps to clarify the relation between the strategic and tactical goals of the Revolution. While reaffirming the pursuit of armed struggle to liberate Palestine from Zionism and to establish the secular democratic state, the program also delineates more immediate goals. Among these are the upholding of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights in Palestine, their right to return and self-determination there without external influence, and the unconditional right to establish an independant state on Palestinian national soil. The program also reaffirms the Revolution's rejection of Resolution 242, and plans for 'self-rule' and for 'settlement' of the Palestinian people outside Palestine. On the Arab level, the program calls for the strengthening of the 'Steadfastness and Confrontation Front' and states that the P.L.O.'s position and relations as regards any Arab regime "are defined by the commitment of that regime to the decisions of the Rabat Summit and its rejection of and resistance to the Camp David Accords and its results."



National Palestinian unity — a basic popular demand

Aside from various steps towards military unification, the program will also reinforce 'front-like' relations throughout the P.L.O. and ensure the participation of all organisations in the Central Council. Most importantly, the P.F.L.P. will re-enter the Executive Committee after four years of absence from the leadership of the P.L.O. The end result of all these and other measures at fortifying the unity of Palestinian will and activity should be clear to all, including the Revolution's enemies. Though complete unity has not been attempted, a more modest and realistic agreement has been reached within the P.L.O. upon the broad outlines of future Palestinian revolutionary action. The coming stage is perhaps the most difficult the Palestinian movement has ever faced throughout its long history. The betrayals of Sadat and the liquidationist designs of Zionism and Imperialism mean that Palestine's voice must be clearer, louder and more resolute than ever. There is no doubt that with this new Palestinian revolutionary consensus, victory over these enemies, and liberation are closer than ever before.

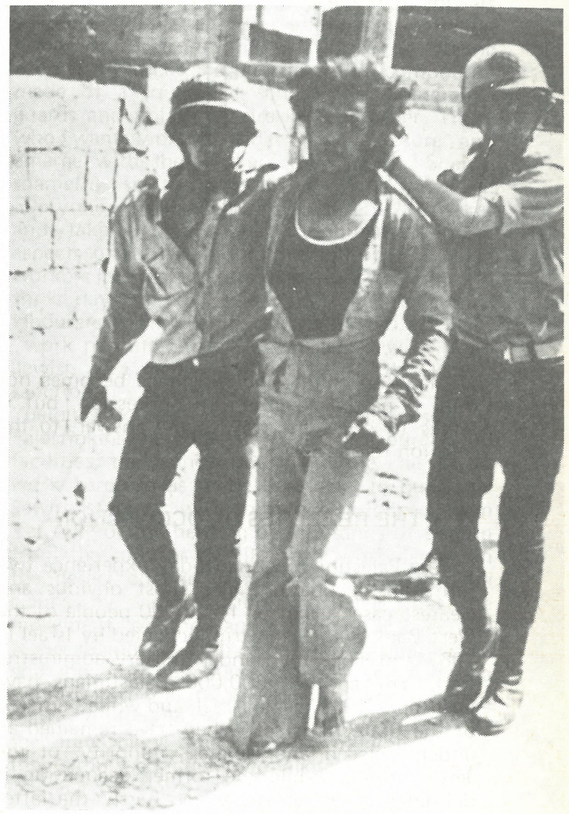
THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO OCCUPATION: GUARANTEE TO VICTORY

"You may take the last strip of our land,
Feed my youth to prison cells,
You may plunder my heritage,
You may spread a web of terror
On the roofs of my village,
But
I shall not compromise,
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist."

SAMIH AL-QASSEM

The existence of the Palestinian national identity is not some accident of history. This identity is a creation of dynamic and progressive historical forces, not an artificial creation of the last few decades as many a Zionist propagandist might claim. Years of active mass struggle against colonialism, occupation and oppression have evolved a Palestinian identity that far transcends its specific cultural and regional characteristics and roots. Like any other people, the Palestinian people is characterised by various traits, traditions and aspirations that needed embodiment in some national form. And as with many other Third World peoples, this necessity was spurred on by the successive waves of foreign invasion and colonisation over the centuries. It was the most vicious and overwhelming of these waves, the Zionist settling of Palestine, that came at a point in history when all peoples were gaining their national independence. Thus with the intensification of the attack, the Palestinian struggle for the realisation of its national aspirations became all the more determined and widescale.

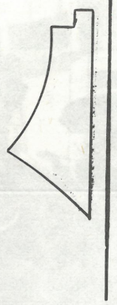
Today, now that the question of establishing the Palestinian national identity has been decisively resolved, the struggle against Zionist occupation has entered a completely different phase. Whereas in the past the aims of struggle were mainly to assert the existence of a Palestinian people with its national rights, the present goals are more concrete and specific. What now concerns the Palestinian people above all are the means by which liberation and national independence may be achieved. Thus, while the Palestinian mass movement always adds more meaning to the struggling nature of the Palestinian national identity, it plays the essential role of practically furthering the strategic and tactical goals of the Palestinian Revolution.



A RICH HERITAGE OF POPULAR STRUGGLE

The cornerstone of this struggle is that of the Palestinian people under Zionist occupation. Throughout Palestinian history, the direct confrontation with the coloniser has constituted the true reflection of national aspirations and potential. Even before the beginning of serious Zionist colonisation of Palestine, along with their Arab compatriots in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, Palestinians were raising their heads against Ottoman rule and joining the movement for Arab independence and freedom. And throughout the first decades of this century, the spontaneous mass movement against massive Jewish immigration and settlement of Palestine was the spearhead of Arab protests at the growing threat to Palestinian national rights. The rebellion and general strike of 1936 was the first manifestation of unanimous, organised resistance to Zionist and colonialist designs in Palestine. And despite the 1948 tragedy and the following years of silent and harsh oppression, the Palestinian will to resist remained alive even in the individual acts of resistance and rebellion that characterised the 1950s. Since the rise of the armed Palestinian Revolution, this struggle has found in the P.L.O. a clear and unified voice through which the Palestinian people may express in a multitude of ways their unanimous and consistent determination to regain their rights in their homeland.

Whereas the question of Palestinian struggle in exile is sometimes clouded or constrained by Arab or international considerations, the fight against occupation has always been a very clear matter. When a people is daily confronted with a repressive colonial system, there is never any doubt of who to fight and how to fight him. When every facet of life is affected and determined by the interests of that enemy, when the reality of occupation is constantly being reinforced and consolidated, when extensions and expansions of the hostile power are continuously being implanted in the heart of Palestine and its people, then the overwhelming necessity, if not responsibility, to resist becomes clear and simple in the minds of every man,



woman and child. And resistance becomes not only a natural reaction to oppression, but it serves to point the way to the answer, to the solution to oppression.

THE REALITIES OF OCCUPATION

The Palestinian people today experience two forms of occupation. The most obvious and clearest case is that of 1,200,000 people of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, occupied by Israel in 1967 and since then under military administration. Yet another 600,000 Palestinians have lived since 1948 inside Israel, and while "citizens of the State of Israel", they have remained an underprivileged and isolated 'minority' of the Jewish State. While the former occupation is definetely more arbitrary and harsh, the latter does not differ in principle: they both rest on the Zionist rationale of exclusive Jewish rights in Palestine with its logical implications of negation of the rights of Palestinian Arabs. Practically that has meant for all Palestinians, in pre-1967 and post 1967 Israel, expulsion, displacement, confiscation of land and property, destruction of homes and villages, arbitrary arrest and detention, military rule, lack of political and civil liberties, economic exploitation and cultural oppression. For Palestinians in Israel these measures have often taken an unofficial and implicit form, while in the West Bank and Gaza, they have been embodied in the Military Administration under the Emergency Regulations, as originally executed by the British Mandate authorities before 1948.

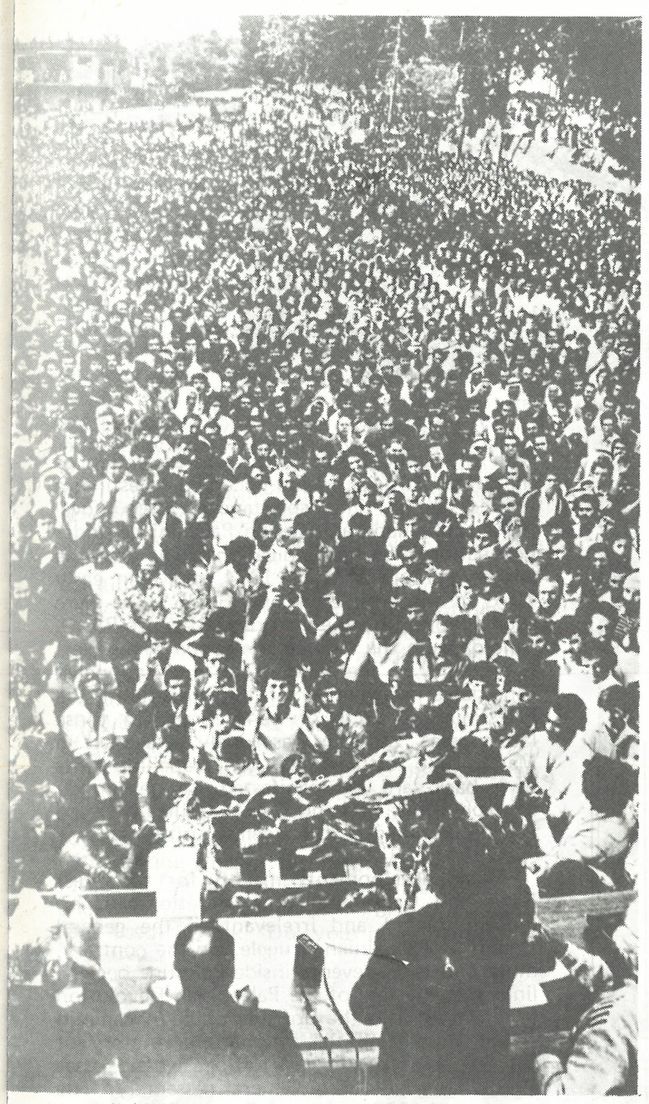
The regulations "cover every aspect of life, from control over the freedom of speech, movement, and the press to the regulation of the possession of arms, the expropriation of property, and the control of means of transportation..." (Sabri Jiryis, **The Arabs in Israel).** No effective avenue of appeal against the measure of the military authority are possible. The practically unrestrained activity of the Israeli military occupation forces is thus as arbitrary as the interests of the occupying power dictate. Therefore, 1,500 Palestinians have been deported to Jordan since 1967; at least 3,000 Palestinians are today in Israeli prisons: cases of torture in prisons are constantly coming to light, hundreds of Palestinian houses have been demolished as part of Israeli 'collective punishment' for so-called 'security' offences; hundreds of thousands of dunums of Palestinian land have been confiscated (to the extent that recent figures show that approximately 25% of the West Bank and Gaza is now either settled by Zionists or confiscated by the military authorities for future settlement.). Thus, settlement of Palestinian land continues unabated as the main thrust of Zionist policy, the Judaisation of Palestine gains momentum despite all Palestinian, Arab and international opposition. The strategic placement of such settlement should dispel any illusions of "Israeli moderation".

EXPLOITATION COMPLEMENTS OCCUPATION

The reality of occupation goes further than these visible measures. Claims of the 'economic prosperity' of West Bankers and Gazans as a result of Israeli occupation, aside from being no more than arguments for the continuation of occupation, hide the true situation of these people. Much of their earnings from jobs in Israel, to which they daily commute, are eroded by the high taxes they must pay and inflation. As reported in *Time* (9/6/78), "the West Bank buys 91% of its imports from Israel while it sells only 65% of its exports in return. Nearly half of the West Bank's 90,000 workers hold jobs in Israel but they are often in areas that Israelis shun such as garbage collection, day labour and construction. Moreover, they receive, on the average, 81% of the wages Israelis get for the same work."

If Palestinians attempt to strike or close down their shops in protest against taxation or any other facet of the occupation, the Emergency Regulations empower the military authorities to forcefully open the stores. Often, shopkeepers who insist on remaining closed are threatened with deportation or arrest. Another favourite tactic of the authorities in trying to crush resistance are the heavy fines imposed upon the families of children and students arrested in demonstrations against the occupation. It is thought that thus, parents may be forced into keeping their children off the streets. All these measures of the authorities have been described by one West Banker as "an occupation of elimination" *(New York Times,* 20/2/78).

Of course, the Israeli economy does its best to make use of the cheap labour available in mass in the West Bank and Gaza. Work conditions are often miserable as Arab labour is not allowed to unionise. Israeli bosses often keep



National gathering in Nazareth (1948 – occupied Palestine)

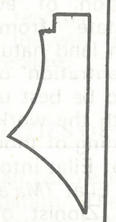
Palestinian labourers in the work premises overnight so as to minimise costs and to benefit from their labour for as long as possible. Since it is illegal for Palestinians to remain in Israel overnight, many bosses lock up their labourers overnight on their premises. This has led in one instance in 1976 to the burning to death of three labourers who were caught in a fire in a locked up warehouse in Tel Aviv. Those labourers who are caught alive overnight in Israel are made to pay heavy fines.

Another example of the conditions of Palestinian labourers from the West Bank and Gaza is given in a letter written to the Israeli newspaper *Maariv* (18/7/78): "Every day this sight appears to the passers-by in Aba Hillel street in Ramat Gan: Arabs from the territories are being brought in trucks and put in a prison compound, made of a square of sand walls. Some civil guards and policemen are keeping order. Those who want workers enter the enclosure and emerge with the workers they hired... Such a shameful sight resembles a slave market... Everyone who needs a worker enters the market and takes himself one." Innumerable other aspects of the racist exploitation of Palestinian workers in Israel abound: the deportation within three days in 1974 of some 1000 Palestinian labourers from Eilat because they did not have "work permits", in order to keep 'Jewish' areas Jewish *(Ha'olam Hazeh,* 1/5/74); the legally sanctioned prevention of everything which "belongs to the state" from being used by Palestinians includin land natural resources and facilities; the 'concentration' of the Palestinian work force so as to be best used to build the Jewish state, as with the workers locked up in Tel Aviv or the herding of thousands of Beduin from the suburbs of Eilat into 'work camps' in the desert outside Eilat *(Ma'ariv,* 3/8/78); the claims by various Zionist officials that the movement of thousands of Beduin over the Negev region in search of pasture for their flocks and jobs for themselves actually constitutes a Beduin 'settlement' movement. "We hear that masses of Beduin from the South are attacking the state lands, and without minding anyone they simply conquer them aggressively" *(Davar).*

CHILD LABOUR HELPS TO BUILD THE STATE

Perhaps the most repulsive face of Zionist racism is the widely observed practice of employing Palestinian children in Israel for especially low wages. Following a television programme in Israel about this scandal, several Israeli newspapers carried stories with vivid details of the child labour markets in Gaza which attract hundreds of Palestinian children every morning and who are eventually hired by Jewish settlements, including kibboutzim, for very low wages and without social or work security or insurance. The articles *(Haaretz,* 2/8/78; *Al Hamishmar,* 1/8/78; *Davar* 4/8/78) spoke of children between the ages of 10 and 15 gathering before dawn at various points in Gaza and bargaining with contractors and foremen from nearby settlements; children who do not go to school but must work to support their families; children who help to cultivate the fields of flowers in the Lakhish area for export to the West as 'Israel produce'; children who work for settlers who rationalise their illegal and immoral practices by saying that "...Up until the Six Day War they were slum dwellers, doing nothing, living off UNRWA money... Our parents in the diaspora also began to work at such an age, in order

Arab bedouins, displaced by barbed-wire Zionist settlements



essential part of the overall Palestinian struggle for independence, return and self-determination.

PLO IS SOLE REPRESENTATIVE

Just as important as these uprisings and daily confrontations with the occupation forces are the political confrontations: the unshakeable and clear rallying of the Palestinians under occupation around their Revolution and the P.L.O., at times when plots are being hatched to decide that people's fate behind its back, deals the ultimate blow to those conspiracies. No longer can Zionism and U.S. Imperialism hope to create alternatives to the P.L.O., nor can it be to help their families... It might not be comfortable to see small children working, but the Arabs of the Strip are rehabilitating themselves in a positive way! ..." Such characteristics of the Zionist state are not accidental or incidental but are natural function of a system which treats Arabs, of all ages or sex, as nothing more than cannon fodder for the cheapest and easiest building of the Jewish state. While Zionism desperately depends upon Arab Palestinian labour, officials have the nerve to state that "the domination of Jewish agriculture by Arab workers is a cancer in our body." (the Israeli Minister of Agriculture, *Haaretz,* 13/12/74). And above all this they demand 'security'!

WIDESPREAD UPRISINGS

Over the last years, especially since 1974, with the gradual and continuing escalation of the armed struggle inside occupied Palestine, a unified and at times spontaneous mass movement took shape among the Palestinians under occupation. The first indications came with the widespread uprisings of 1974 and then early 1976 in the West Bank and Gaza. These were soon followed by the victories of the pro-P.L.O. candidates in the municipal election of the West Bank, and of the progressive and nationalist candidates in a number of municipalities in the Palestinian districts of 1948 Israel. In those latter areas, Zionism was rudely awakened in March 1976 to the rumblings of rebellion in its own back-yard as manifested in the bloody confrontations of Land Day in Galilee between Palestinian villagers and Israeli security forces.

These developments meant, for the West Bank and Gaza, that their situation was no longer isolated and irrelevant to the general stream of Palestinian struggle. On the contrary, more and more, events inside Palestine became linked to the fate of the Palestinian Revolution as a while. Thus the uprising of 1974 came in concordance with the international victory of the P.L.O. at the United Nations when Yasser Arafat addressed the General Assembly. The uprising of 1976 and Land Day in Galilee came at a time when the Palestinian Revolution was being attacked in Lebanon by Zionist and Imperialist backed forces – when Tal al Zaatar fell in August 1976, new Tal al Zaatars were born in West Bank streets, squares and camps. This vital interaction between the Palestinian people throughout its dispersion is just another reaffirmation of that people's unity and common will and fate in support of the P.L.O.

Thus, when Israel invaded South Lebanon in March 1978 in a futile attempt to extinguish the Palestinian revolutionary presence there, once again, the Palestinian masses under occupation took to the streets, engaging the security forces in clashes that lasted several days, and which resulted in severe punishment for those arrested.

In one confrontation, security forces surrounded a school in which students were actually studying and proceeded to lob canisters of anti-riot tear gas into the windows. Some students leaped 6 meters to the ground below to escape the fumes and suffered serious injuries. As a result of this case, though at first denied, the military governer of the West Bank was removed *(Time,* 19/6/78). Such demonstrations and protests against new settlements in the West Bank, attacks upon the Palestinian Revolution even as manifested in the Camp David Summit and agreements, various arbitrary measures of the occupation authorities and the conditions of prisoners in Israeli jails, all these constitute an hoped that Palestinian rights can be substituted by half-backed and vague formulae of 'self rule', autonomy,or Palestinian 'participation' in determining their future. The intertwining of Palestinian mass and armed struggle has assured that any solution to the Palestinian problem must provide for complete satisfaction of Palestinian national and human rights or else it is no solution at all. The political confrontation is daily escalated, while the unanimity of popular support for the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the whole Palestinian people is constantly reaffirmed in the face of those who would like to be able to say, like Brzezenski, "Bye-Bye P.L.O.". As Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, said to a gathering of 40 Israeli generals, "If you want to discuss our rights, we want an independent Palestinian state, and the P.L.O. is the only organisation with the power to discuss peace. This should not be discussed with Karim Khalaf, but with Arafat and the P.L.O." *(The Middle East,* November 1978). As one West Banker observed: "For years, journalists used to ask 'Do you have anyone to represent you? And we always used to hesitate because in fact there was no one. Now, circumstances have changed and we do have someone. Now, the journalists say: 'But these people are extremists, they can't really represent you." *(New York Times,* 20/2/78)

NO TO SELF RULE, NO TO CAMP DAVID YES TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The most effective and resounding Palestinian response to the U.S.-Sadat-Zionist plan for the future of the Palestinian people was delivered by those who were most directly concerned, the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza. This rejection of the Camp David agreements and their results was not any divergence from the earlier position of the Palestinians under occupation. As Karim Khalaf replied to Israeli queries as to why the Palestinians rejected the Begin autonomy plan (pre-Camp David): "And shall we always have an Israeli Commandor-in-chief and local Israeli commandors? Yes? So this is not autonomy. Who will control the bridges (across the Jordan)? Who will give the permits (to go to Jordan)? There is no autonomy if there is another government breathing down one's neck. No mayor will accept your autonomy because it will be the same as saying the occupation will continue for ever." *(The Middle East,* November 1978).

A series of national conferences were held throughout the West Bank and Gaza in the wake of Camp David, and all resolutely affirmed the same unified position. At the Jerusalem Conference on October 1, the representatives of 17 West Bank municipalities, including the largest

West Bank mayors: unanimous support for PLO

ones, and a large sector of representatives of professional and religious bodies, issued a nine-point statement denouncing the agreement and reaffirmed complete allegiance to the P.L.O. It also rejected the 'self-rule' plan, and asserted that the future of the Palestinian people can only be decided by the majority of that people who reside outside the West Bank and Gaza. Subsequent U.S., Egyptian and Israeli attempts to open a dialogue with West Bank leaders on the basis of Camp David were sternly rebuked.

"NOTHING SHORT OF TRUE SELF-DETERMINATION"

This militant response by the people of the West Bank and Gaza has been sharply met by the occupation authorities. Now, more stringent security measures have been enacted, especially in light of the upsurge in Palestinian activity in the last months of 1978. New arbitrary restrictions have been imposed upon the political activity of the mayors and the political representatives of West Bank communities, such as banning any meetings or conferences that the military government considers to be 'incitement' against the occupation. Yet such strengthening of the hold of the occupation authorities have never been successful in containing the mass movement, much less in breaking the will of the Palestinian people.

To complement the escalation of the struggle againt the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, 1978 has witnessed new steps in the direction of unifying the struggle there with that of the Palestinians of 1948 "Israel". Many Israelis have commented in alarm at the growing radicalisation of Palestinians in "Israel", especially since Land Day in 1976. With the renewal of contacts between Palestinians in "Israel" and those of the occupied territories after 1967, and the growth of the Palestinian Resistance, Palestinians in "Israel" chose the only way to express their national identification by supporting the Israeli Communist Party-Rakah. Since Tawfiq Zayyad became Mayor of Nazareth in 1970 at the head of the Rakah list, Rakah and its various anti-Zionist allied forces have made considerable headaway among Palestinians in "Israel ".

Since 1959, this alliance's percentage of the non-Jewish vote has risen from 11.3 to 50.7. Politically this has been accompanied by calls from among the more radical sectors of this alliance, as represented in the Sons of the Village Movement and the Arab Students Committee, for support of the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and its goal of the establishment of a secular democratic state in Palestine. But despite differences between this smaller sector's position and the political line of Rakah (being represented in the Knesset), these forces have slowly but surely succeeded in tipping the balance of power among Palestinians in "Israel" in their favour, always working to assert their national Palestinian identity.

This was reflected once again in 1978 in the victories of this alliance in the recent municipal elections. Their support originates both in their Palestinian nationalist appeal and their local activities in defence of Palestinian land and rights against attempts to Judaize the Galillee. Of course, such increasing militancy is met by expected Zionist racist measure: "At the end of September the Jewish Agency's settlement department published a plan for doubling the number of Jewish settlements in central Galilee". *(The Middle East,* November, 1978).

The struggle against the Zionist occupation has its many forms and operates on all levels in all areas. The movement of Palestinians in occupied Palestine only shows that however long occupation might last, an oppressed people will be sure to strike back, stronger each time. The Palestinian people day after day reaffirms to Zionism and the world, that it is an indivisible and determined unity. New settlements might be established, more militants might be imprisoned. Exploitation might become even harsher and repression darker. But until the whole world acknowledges that the Palestinian struggle will not cease but will escalate with every new attempt to liquidate it, until then peace is an illusion and justice will remain far from realized. As a Palestinian professor from Bir Zeit University has observed *(New York Times,* 20/2/78). "If the world presses for any plan that falls short of true self-determination on the part of the Palestinians, the seeds of future conflict will be sown."

OCCUPATION DIARY

MORE SUPPRESSION OF WEST BANK MUNICIPALITIES

On December 14 the Israeli military command in the West Bank issued an order dismissing one member of the Municipal Council of Qaliqiliya. The council rejected the illegitimate Israeli decision, for it is aimed at replacing dismissed council members with people known to be agents affiliated with the Israeli occupation. The Israelis want to change the composition of the municipal councils to prepare the way for the implementation of the "self-rule" scheme.

The Israeli action against the council member in Qaliqiliya follows a similar incident in Jericho, where the Israelis imposed a two-month jail sentence on a member of Jericho's municipal council for allegedly attacking a policeman. The Jericho council denounced the Israeli action, and on December 16 issued a statement declaring that the Israeli military authoritiees do not have the prerogative of appointing and dismissing members of the municipal council.

PALESTINE WEEK

On 11 December 1978, hundreds of nationalist youths from Nazareth, Arraba, Jaffa, Deir Hanna, Shafa Amr, Sha'ab and other villages participated in the popular meetings and lectures organized by the Nazareth Union of Communist Youth Regional Committee on the occasion of Palestine week.

In Nazareth, a large meeting was held on 8 December, at which Doctor Emile Touma, the famous historian, spoke on the Palestinian people's ability to foil all conspiracies aimed against them.

Several other meetings were held in other towns, at which all the participants confirmed Palestinian national rights, under the leadership of the PLO.

KARIM KHALAF BRIEFS I.R.C. ON CONDITION OF DETAINEES

On December 22, the Mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf, briefed the International Red Cross Commissioner in the occupied West Bank on the appalling conditions of Palestinian detainees being held in Israeli jails, and urged the Red Cross to take immediate action to secure the release of a number of male and female detainees whose health is rapidly deteriorating as a result of torture and lack of medical treatment.

Many Palestinian detainees are suffering from various handicaps, as well as from chronic and serious diseases, as a result of malnutrition and ill-treatment inside Israeli jails.

OCCUPATION DIARY

SIT-INS IN JERUSALEM AND BIR ZEIT TO PROTEST TORTURE OF PALESTINIAN PRISONERS

Hundreds of Palestinian citizens staged a sit-in, on 22 December 1978, at the headquarters of the International Red Cross in Jerusalem, in protest against Israel's racist and aggressive policies and against the torture of Palestinian prisoners inside Israeli jails. Several delegations representing various national, popular and student bodies in Jerusalem, Galilee, Haifa, and the Triangle Region, the Committee for the Resurgence of the Family as well as the Mayor of al-Bireh, Salim Tawil, and the Jewish progressive lawyer Lea Tzemel, joined in the sit-in. The participants called on all international bodies, the Human Rights League, on the Red Cross and on UN Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to intervene to free hundreds of Palestinian prisoners, many of whom are suffering from serious ailments and injuries as a result of torture.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Palestinian families and citizens staged a sit-in at the Bir Zeit University on the 20th of December in protest against the illtreatment of Palestinian prisoners, and called upon public opinion and international organizations to intervene to save the lives of their imprisoned sons. The student participants in the sit-in also issued a communique to the press in which they said that prisoners in Israeli jails are suffering from various hardship and physical ailments which are aggravated by the savage Israeli treatment, neglect and torture. They listed examples of prisoners whose health is in serious condition such as Aisha Awda in the Ramallah prison, who suffers from rheumatism, ulcer, a kidney infection and a heart condition, adding that the Israeli authorities refuse to treat these prisoners

Save the life of imprisoned Aisha Awda!

LANGER REPORTS ON TORTURE OF BIR ZEIT STUDENTS

The progressive Israeli awyer Felicia Langer has presented a report to Bir Zeit University on the conditions of the students who were arrested over the past two months. The report said that student Mahmoud Ahmad Hallaj is suffering from severe pains in his kidneys, following a recent operation in one of them. Langer, who met with Hallaj recently, said that his health condition is serious and that he could not even talk with her. She added that the prison authorities refused to consider the medical certificate sent by the detainee's family which describes the young man's condition.

Langer also reported that another student, Rizq Shuqeir, seems to have lost his hearing, because he could not hear her clearly; that she saw a deep gash in his left cheek due to excessive beating; and that his legs were swollen. Rizq told her that the interrogator tried to strangle him to death.

BETHLEHEM CELEBRATES CHRISTMAS DESPITE ISRAELI PROVOCATIONS

Huge numbers of Israeli police, frontier guards and troops erected checkpoints on Christmas Eve at the entrance to the city of Bethlehem and surrounded the Church of the Nativity, the birthplace of Jesus Christ. Helicopters overflew the celebrations, and Israeli troops took positions on rooftops.

Elias Freij, Bethlehem's mayor, affirmed in a press statement on December 24 that peace prospects remain dim so long as Palestinian and Arab lands remain occupied, and so long as the Zionists deny the Palestinian people's national rights to their homeland, including Jerusalem. He continued by saying that a just peace should be based on the implementation of UN resolutions which call for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

MISTAKE

A senior Israeli expert on Arab affairs declared on 26 December 1978 that it had been a mistake to ban political activity in the occupied West Bank.

Professor Menahem Milson, who till recently was an adviser on Arab affairs to the Israeli military government in the West Bank, told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee that "moderate" Arabs in the territory had observed order, whereas pro-PLO elements had ignored it and organized secretly.

WEST BANK AND GAZA MOURN BOUMEDIENNE

The Palestinian citizens of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were deeply grieved at the news of the death of the militant Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, and various personalities and institutions sent messages of condolences.

Arabic newspapers in Jerusalem dedicated their editorials and commentaries to Boumedienne, and published cables of condolences sent by the various West Bank personalities. Among these was a cable from Mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf, in which he stated that the Palestinian people will never forget the late Algerian President, who was an ally and a friend of the Palestinian nation and its aspirations.

PROTESTS AND STRIKES AGAINST UNRWA MEASURES

On December 10, 1978, the executive council of the UNRWA workers' union in the West Bank and Gaza Strip issued a joint communique in which they agreed to take a unified stand against the latest measures UNRWA has adopted to decrease its services to the Palestinian people.

Meanwhile in Damascus, the two General Unions of Palestinian Workers and Teachers have issued a joint communique condemning UNRWA's policy and reasserting their support for the symbolic strike staged by the agency's Palestinian workers. The communique demanded that the latter's rights be respected and that the workers not be discriminated against. The unions also asked UNRWA to continue developing its services until the implementation of UN resolutions concerning the return of the Palestinians to their homeland.

In a memorandum to the UNRWA General Commissioner on December 11, the Jordanian Professional Unions expressed their support for the demands of UNRWA workers, and condemned the reductions in the agency's services. The memorandum was signed by the Jordanian Unions of Lawyers, Doctors, Pharmacists, Engineers, Dentists and Farmers. A copy was sent to every Arab foreign minister and to the UN Secretary General.

Furthermore, West Bank and Gaza Strip municipalities and educational bodies have announced their intention to stage a strike to protest UNRWA's latest measures. On December 19, UNRWA employees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip stopped work for four hours, while representatives of the UNRWA employees' union staged a sit-in at the offices of the agency's Director of Operations. On the same day, UNRWA teachers in Lebanon struck in solidarity with the agency's employees in occupied Palestine, and held a sit-in at the UNRWA headquarters in Beirut.

UNRWA WORKERS DECLARE OPEN STRIKE

The working group created at the UNRWA Arab workers' conference distributed a communique at a press conference held on 3 January, 1979 in Damascus, which was attended by a number of representatives of the UNRWA workers in the Gaza strip, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

The communique stated that the next phase in the UNRWA workers' protest against the agency's policies, will be an open strike starting 10 February in the West Bank, Gaza strip, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The communique also explained that the negotiations which took place at the end of last month with the agency's administration in Jordan failed, and that the agency alone is responsible for the consequences of the strike.

The communique stated that 1979 will be a decisive year regarding the liquidation and settlement projects which the agency has been practising through gradually diminishing its aid to the Palestinians, decreasing employees, decreasing health and educational services and freezing wages.

In answer to a question regarding the measures to be taken by the Arab states, especially the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, the working group stated that they have sent cables to all Arab states, including those of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, in which they exposed the dimensions of the conspiracy and called on the Arab states to do the following:

1. To demand from UN Secretary General Waldheim the immediate prevention of the UNRWA measures.

2. To demand the annexation of the UNRWA budget to the UN general budget.

BIR ZEIT: PALESTINIAN UNIVERSITY CONFRONTS REPRESSION

Bir Zeit campus — a center of national resistance

The University of Bir Zeit, which is a small town near Ramallah in the occupied West Bank, offers one of the rare opportunities for Palestinian students to get a qualified higher education without being forced to leave Palestine. This very fact runs counter to the intentions of the racist depopulation politics of the Zionist occupation authorities, which use the denial of study facilities as a means to attempt the decimation of the Palestinian populace by enforced emigration.

Bir Zeit University, its staff of 84 professors and lecturers, and its students are exposed to all kinds of constant repression and harrassment. In December 1973, the university was closed down for two weeks. In November 1974, the former Dean of Bir Zeit, Hanna Nasir, was detained and then deported to Jordan. Another staff member, Professor Teisir Aruri, was recently released after 44 months of 'adminstrative detention' — as the Israeli military government calls it — without ever being charged.

Armed forces, have repeatedly invaded the campus. Many university members have been arrested, interrogated and beaten up. Faculty and teaching staff members are continuously hampered in their work by the occupation authorities. Time and again, professors from abroad, or even teaching personnel from other parts of occupied Palestine, have been refused residence in the town. Even local staff members are harrassed through the refusal of or the indefinite delay in granting what Zionist occupation calls "working permits".

Nevertheless, the University of Bir Zeit has become a center and source of intellectual and political resistance against occupation and repression, and Zionist arrogance and discrimination. No Zionist maneuver or act of aggression, wherever it takes place, will pass without unanimous resistance manifested at the campus, and its patriotic activities accompany every wave of uprisings of our people. In spring 1978, the University won a limited victory in a skirmish with the Israelis over work permits for its staff with foreign passports. The Military Governor had announced that seven faculty members with US, Canadian and British passports would be denied the permits the authorities require of them in order to continue teaching at Bir Zeit. Then, after international protests, the Israeli government backed down somewhat and granted a year's reprieve.

Dr. Hanna Nasir, deported President of Bir Zeit University, meets Fatima Bernawi, released after 12 years Zionist imprisonment, at Holy Land Fund convention in Chicago

INTERVIEW WITH DEAN DR. MOHAMMED HALLAJ

In the following interview with Dr. Mohammed Hallaj, Dean of Bir Zeit's Faculty of Arts, he describes the University's special role as a Palestinian national institution, and the unusual difficulties of providing college education under military occupation. Following are the main excerpts from the interview which was published in the New York based magazine **Palestine** ,in its October 1978 issue.

Question: What kind of difficulties do you experience in operating a University under foreign military occupation?

Hallaj: We face many problems as a result of the occupation. Financially, we have lost our tax-exempt status and Israeli taxes now take a good percentage of our budget. As to scholarship, we face many limitations on academic freedom. Censorship for example: whether a faculty member is doing a paper or a book, or whether it is a student paper, everything that we produce for publication is censored. Also books we import are censored, and it is extremely difficult to get books and journals from outside, especially works in Arabic. Faculty recruitment has become difficult. Many Palestinians who would be interested in coming to the West Bank to teach at Bir Zeit may not be given the necessary work and residence permits.

The occupation also affects class room work; students sometimes get into trouble for doing certain types of research. We were teaching a course last year on the economy of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the instructor had difficulty teaching it properly because there is not much data on the subject. So he and his students designed little research projects aimed at collecting economic data. One project was an industrial survey, and they prepared a questionnaire which groups of students took to various establishments in the occupied areas. One student was put into prison for four months for doing this, and when he was released the Israeli authorities told him not to do this sort of thing again.

STUDENTS ARE TARGET OF REPRESSION

Question: How does Israeli military occupation affect student life at Bir Zeit University?

Hallaj: The most tragic sort of influence is that we constantly have students in prison, sometimes for a brief period of detention without trial, other times they are sentenced. Our students are subjected to arrest very often simply for being students. The Israeli military authorities instinctively think students are responsible for agitation, responsible for unrest. They practice collective punishment against the students.

The second day after the invasion of Lebanon [March 17, 1978], there were demonstrations in Bir Zeit, like in every other place in the West Bank. The Israelis didn't send troops to Bir Zeit, but rather put a checkpoint on the road leading to Ramallah. Twenty-three students going home from the University in a bus were stopped at the checkpoint, and were taken to prison. Maybe they participated in demonstrations, maybe not. But the Israeli idea is that university students are troublesome, that they are good candidates for prison and detention.

Deputy Bir Zeit President Dr. Baramki with defence counsel Felicia Langer

Question: Has the Israeli Army ever intervened inside the University campus itself?

Hallaj: Yes. A most flagrant case was [on March 10, 1976] preceding the municipal elections on the West Bank and the Land Day in the Galilee; it was a period of general unrest. A large Israeli military force came into Bir Zeit village, where there was a demonstration. The Israelis left alone the students demonstrating in the streets — maybe because they had rocks with them — and attacked the students in the dormitory who were not demonstrating. The soldiers broke the doors of the dormitory and of the student rooms with the butts of their rifles and their boots; they turned beds over destroyed furniture; they beat up many students. The soldiers also went around the campus shooting, mostly in the air. We had to send 18 students to the hospital.

ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT FAILS

Question: Has this type of repression stopped political life on the campus?

Hallaj: On the contrary. One thing that hurts the Israelis in terms of their ability to condition our behavior, to control us, is the fact that one can get hurt for nothing. For example. Taisir al Aruri [a professor at Bir Zeit] spent 45 months in prison, and we have never been able to find out why. He had not done anything. I am sure that if he had done anything they would have put him on trial. The closest thing we were able to get towards an explanation from the authorities of why Taisir spent so many months in prison was that he was thinking of doing something.

If you can spend 45 months of your life in prison for this sort of crime — because somebody thinks that you are thinking of doing something — you lose fear. If I can be in prison for nothing. I might as well do something and make it worth the stay. Our students and people in general tend to have this attitude.

Some months ago [January 5, 1978] two of our students were beaten to within an inch of their lives and as far as we know they had not done anything at all to justify this. They are among the least active students on campus. They were summoned to the military government headquarters and told to sign a statement to the effect that they had thrown rocks at the Army and that they wouldn't do it again. The students refused to sign. They said, "We didn't throw rocks at the Army, we can't sign a statement like this." They were beaten up so severely that they had to be hospitalized.

Students see that a person can be beaten up, can be expelled, can be imprisoned for doing nothing, and that the same thing happens if they do something, so prison and beatings become less of a deterrent. There are other reasons, but this is one reason why the students are not restrained. Every time something happens they call a meeting in the assembly and they sit there and discuss and make speeches and slogans and issue statements and even invite the press.

The students have not been inhibited, because they feel that we have reached rock bottom. This feeling of desperation sometimes makes people brave. We have a saying in Arabic that is not easy to translate, something like, "He who is impaled will curse the Sultan."

GRADUATES FACE PRESSURE TO EMIGRATE

Question: What difficulties has the occupation caused Bir Zeit students in finding appropriate jobs upon graduation:

Hallaj: This is a problem. Because there is no economic development going on in the West Bank, and no creation of jobs, college graduates find it very difficult to get jobs here. Teaching is almost the only outlet for them: most of our graduates work in the school system. Although 50 to 60,000 West Bankers go into Israel to work, college graduates from the West Bank can't work in Israel even if they want to; Israelis are not interested in hiring skilled laborers and educated people from the West Bank. They employ West Bankers only as unskilled manual labor, mostly in construction or on farms.

We face a serious problem. Are we educating people who will find it increasingly necessary to leave the West Bank to find work? We are trying to minimize this possibility by developing the programs of the University to suit the local needs of our community. This is difficult, because we have no decision-making power beyond the University.

Question: In your planning now, what economic fields do you envision will be available for employment for college graduates, besides teaching?

Hallaj: Some of the professions. We have done the feasibility study for a school of engineering, to aid what small industry does exist in the West Bank. The area needs people who would supervise workers in a plant, or on a construction site, surveyors, various types of engineers. There is also a plan to start a program of medical technologies, in nursing, pharmacy and lab technology. West Bank hospitals are very much in need of lab technicians, for example.

But it will not be easy to keep the University functioning within this framework. If the occupation lasts for a very long time, then eventually, no matter how careful we are, we are going to find many students leaving, simply because, as a result of the economic stagnation in the West Bank, they can't find jobs.

Question: Is there already a serious brain drain from the West Bank?

Hallaj: Yes. Last year statistics showed that 19,000 people left the West Bank, and quite a few of them are graduates of vocational schools, people who learned to be electricians and carpenters. Most of these people can't find jobs on the West Bank, and the Israelis are not interested in hiring them.

This is a serious problem because it's not just a matter of the numbers—19,000 people yes, but look at who they are. You find that they are the sort of people who really build up a community anywhere in the world. This is part of our overall tragedy.

Question: Do you see a coherent political purpose in Israel's inhibiting economic development in the West Bank?

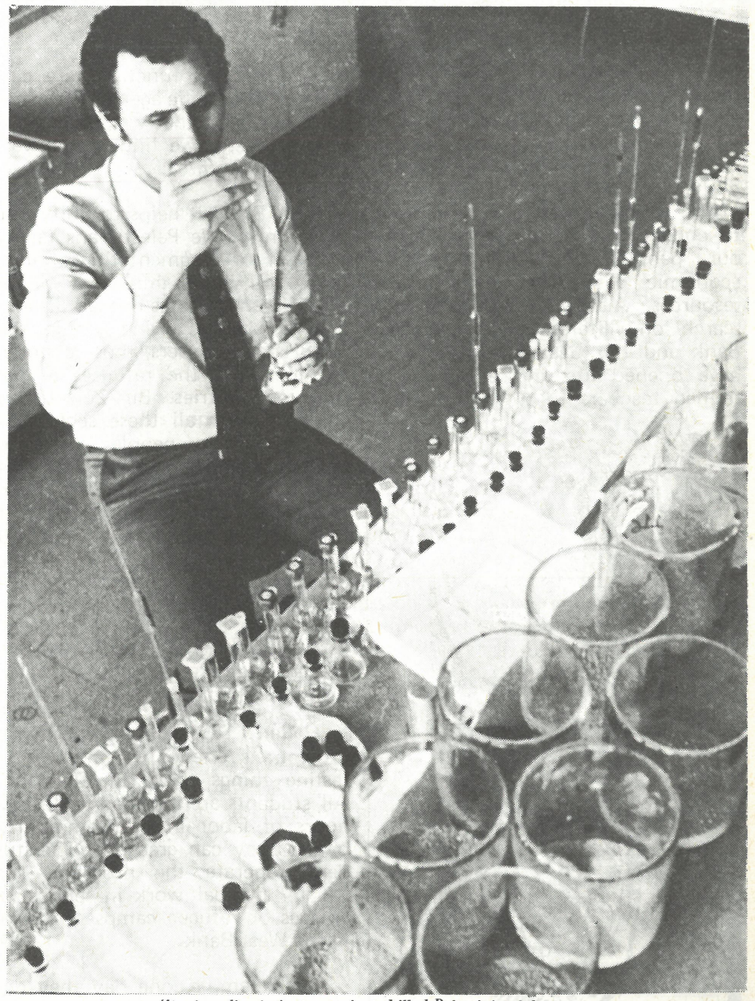
Hallaj: Yes, definitely. Their short-range aim is to exploit us, and they are exploiting us, the thousands of Arabs working for lower wages and no fringe benefits. But their long-range plan is for these people to go somewhere else and make room for Israeli settlers.

We live toward the end of the 20th century. And that probably means that the more crude methods of expulsion are less practical; one finds more sophisticated techniques to accomplish this end. To world public opinion, the Israelis can say that when an Arab leaves the West Bank to go work in Kuwait and drags his family with him, "Well, he's interested in money, nobody made him leave." But in fact he is made to leave. I know a lot of people who leave, not because there is a differential of pay between what he can get in the West Bank and what he can get in Kuwait. He leaves because it's the difference between starving to death and living. He can't in reality be considered to have freely emigrated; he was driven out.

A NATIONALIST INSTITUTION

Question: Besides trying to slow down emigration, how else does Bir Zeit see itself serving community needs?

Hallaj: Bir Zeit University is really more than just an academic institution. It serves some of the functions that are usually the responsibility of governments in other



Zionism discriminates against skilled Palestinian labour

countries. For example, since we in the West Bank and Gaza are not allowed to govern ourselves, we have no agencies to collect data about ourselves. So last year Bir Zeit established a documentation research office which is designed primarily to collect data about our society, our people, population trends, economic data labor conditions, resources. Also we have done research on illiteracy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and we have opened literacy centers and trained teachers to work in these programs. Such functions are carried out by public agencies in other countries. But since we do not have a government, we find the University doing them.

Also Bir Zeit helps to unify our community. We Palestinians face a problem of fragmentation. Sometimes you would think that we are 10 different nations instead of one: the Palestinians living within the 1948 israeli borders, those conquered in 1967, the refugees in the various countries. Bir Zeit draws students from all these sectors of the Palestinian people; we have students from the Galilee, from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, from the refugee communities outside. It is one of the only places where you find representatives of all these groups in one place working together, interacting with each other.

Question: Could you explain the University's community work program?

Hallaj: The community work program is one of the most interesting things about Bir Zeit life. All students are required to do 120 hours of labor in the community before they can graduate. The students operate the program. It's usually manual work in service of villages or refugee camps or towns in the West Bank.

For example, one day they decide to go into a Jalazone refugee camp near Bir Zeit and to clean up the schools, painting them, improving playgrounds. Sometimes the students plant trees, build sidewalks. They help farmers at harvest. The West Bank is primarily an olive producing area and the students help farmers pick their olives. Sometimes the students sweep streets, clean up a town.

The community work program is designed to acquaint the students with their country; they go to various areas to do their work, they might camp overnight, stay over a weekend. They get to know people in other communities, farmers, the village people where they work, and also they do a great deal of useful work. The program also breaks down notions about isolating women. In our society, or at least in parts of it, the outlook towards women is still the traditional one, especially in rural areas. These people see boys and girls travelling together, working together, playing, joking together, and they eventually begin to realize there is nothing wrong with this, that in fact it can be a constructive sort of relationship.

The program has many objectives, but a central one is to show people that it's not a shame to get one's hands dirty doing manual labor, even if you are educated, because unfortunately this misconception is one of the many shortcomings of our culture and traditions. You know in the Third World in general people tend to have this bias against manual labor. Breaking this down is one of the program's primary objectives. I think the community work program is one of the best things at Bir Zeit; the students themselves are enthusiastic about it.

HELP FOR BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY

In order to combat the clear intention of the Zionists to isolate Bir Zeit from the international academic community, 'Friends of Bir Zeit University' has been set up in London.

The organisation intends to promote the interests and welfare of the university, its staff and students in academic, administrative and cultural fields. It intends to extend practical assistance, by, for example, assisting in the recruitment of staff, providing external examiners and visiting professors, helping research students visit Bir Zeit, and arranging for Bir Zeit members to attend international conferences.

'Friends of Bir Zeit' also intends to raise money for the university, and to look for public, official or private benefactors in Britain to sponsor a Chair, of English or another subject.

'Friends of Bir Zeit University' is at Room 8a, 41-2 Parliament Street, Whitehall, London SW1.

THE CASE OF FAWWAZ ZEIDAN, LECTURER AT BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY

"Mr. Zeidan is a Palestinian with Jordanian passport, 31 years, M.A. in Arabic, university lecturer in the Faculty of Arabic at Bir Zeit University. He was employed by the University in October 1974. He applied to the military authorities for permission for a family reunification which, if granted, would allow him to settle permanently in the West Bank. He met all requirements for such a request, since he was born in the West Bank, is unmarried, and his mother, a widow, lived in the West Bank without any interruption. Nevertheless his request was turned down.

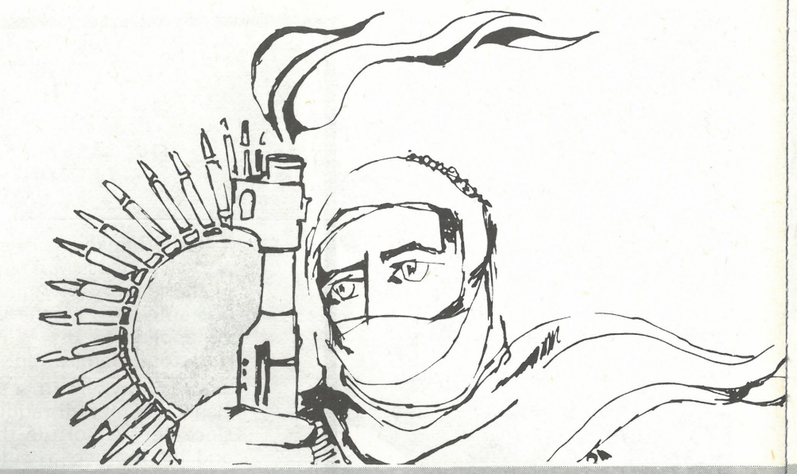
Fawwaz Zeidan stayed in Bir Zeit for a whole year with a limited visitor's permit. Afterwards, he received a one-year residence permit for the academic year 1975/76. In November 1976, his application to prolong his residence was rejected. He continued his teaching work, since the academic year had already started.

In March 1977, the occupation authorities demanded that the university dismiss him. The Faculty rejected this request, and in April 1977, the authorities allowed Mr. Zeidan to stay for three months until the end of the semester. Meanwhile, Mr. Zeidan succeeded in winning from the Israeli Supreme Court an order delaying the enforcement of his deportation.

In March 1978, he was arrested for 18 days, although no charge was brought forward. After his release, the military authorities confiscated his Jordanian passport and, on 21 June 1978, gave notice to the University that the passport "got lost". Thus the same authorities, which attempted to deny Mr. Zeidan permission to work in the West Bank, have now made it impossible for him to leave in order to seek work elsewhere. Being without a passport or any other official document of identification, Mr. Zeidan does not even dare to move around outside the small town of Bir Zeit, out of fear he might be arrested at any checkpoint. If the Israeli Army should seize him without identification papers, he would at once be arrested due to his violation of the military security regulations..."

From the West German magazine "3. WELT MAGAZIN", September 1978)

MILITARY OPERATIONS 1978



Ever since the Zionist occupation of their homeland, the Palestinian people have resorted to different forms of struggle to reassert their usurped national rights and identity.

Given Zionist intransigence, which has been bolstered by the West, and particularly by the US, revolutionary armed violence has been and still remains the major form of the Palestinian people's struggle.

In the year 1978 the Middle East witnessed capitulatory moves and intrigues from different corners of the globe directed against Palestine and the Palestinian people. At the same time, the most striking feature of the Palestinian military operations executed in 1978 was their marked qualitative and quantitative increase.

Operations increased qualitatively in the sense that they were carried out against military targets in the whole of Palestine, in the areas occupied both before and after 1967. The entire length and breadth of the country proved vulnerable to attack, from the border settlement of Metulla in the north, to the Sinai settlements in the south, and from Jericho in the east to Haifa and Tel Aviv on the western coast.

THE KAMAL ADWAN OPERATION

The historic Kamal Adwan Operation was executed to the letter on March 11 by the Deir Yassin forces, in the coastal area between Haifa and Tel Aviv.

The operation was carried out at a time when local capitulationists led by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat were conspiring with Zionism and its patron, US imperialism, against the Palestinian people.

The operation proved that peace and stability cannot prevail in the Middle East without the recognition of the Palestinian people's national rights.

The operation's message vibrated in all international media, saying that there can be no security for Israel, notwithstanding the huge quantity of destructive US-supplied weapons in its possession. These weapons can neither set up a community nor establish a system able to survive in usurped land. The message was clear: war or peace in the region depends on the Palestinian people and their revolution, and on no other.

THE FIFTH ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

On 15 March 1978, 32,000 Israeli soldiers, backed by heavy artillery, rockets, tanks and air and naval support, invaded South Lebanon on a 100-km front.

The aim of the aggression was declared at the time by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to be "the liquidation of the PLO and the establishment of a security belt" along the Lebanese border. Israeli War Minister Ezer Weizman predicted that the process would take 12 to 24 hours to complete.

To the dismay of Begin, Weizman and Zionist strategists, the invaders met massive resistance from the Palestinian and Lebanese patriotic forces. The Joint Forces fought back heroically. Regrouping into small mobile guerilla units, they took the opportunity to lure the attacking Israelis forward and hit them from the sides and behind, inflicting heavy losses.

The battle that was supposed to last "12 to 24 hours" raged on for seven consecutive days and nights. Frustrated Israeli forces, which could not accept the reality of their losses, attacked civilian targets and wiped out several villages using US-supplied cluster bombs.

Failing to achieve the liquidation of the PLO forces, the Israeli government called for a ceasefire and accepted the introduction of UN forces in the region to buy more time and to come up with a new approach.

The fifth war was the first major confrontation between Palestinian forces and the Israeli aggressors since the battle of Karameh in March 1968. It proved that a small and determined military force with a just cause can resist and even defeat a huge and arrogant military force.

It also proved that the task of destroying the PLO is not as easy as cutting a loaf of bread. On the contrary, in circumstances of adversity and danger the Palestinian forces have proved their unwavering determination to resist. That the Palestinian cause can neither be crushed nor contained, was the major lesson of the fifth war.

ATTACK ON MEHULA COLONY

On June 12, Palestinian commandos of the Martyr Abu Ali Iyyad group stormed the center of the Mehula colony, situated in the northern Jordan Valley, south of the city of Bisan.

The assault unit used rockets, hand grenades and machine guns, and was supported by a mortar unit as it carried out the operation. After hoisting the Palestinian flag in the colony, the unit managed to withdraw.

The operation, which was carried out at a time when speculation from imperialist sources was saying that Jordan would soon join the "Sadat Initiative," pointed out that Palestine, not Jordan or Egypt, must be the decisive element in the establishment of peace.

The operation also confirmed that the Palestinian Revolution is able to face the enemy in all parts of Palestine, from all directions including Jordan.

OTHER OPERATIONS

Historical precedents demonstrate that settler-colonial states, by their very nature, are doomed to live in conditions of insecurity and instability. The denial of rights to the indigenous population, which accompanies the establishment of such a state will know no peace. One has only to look at the cases of the French in Algeria, the Portugese in Angola and Mozambique, and the British in Zimbabwe to underscore this point.

Israel, Zionism's settler-colonial state, is no exception to this rule. The security situation in Israel deteriorated markedly last year, "the year of Camp David," and the Israeli government had to exhort citizens to beware of explosives and Palestinian commandos.

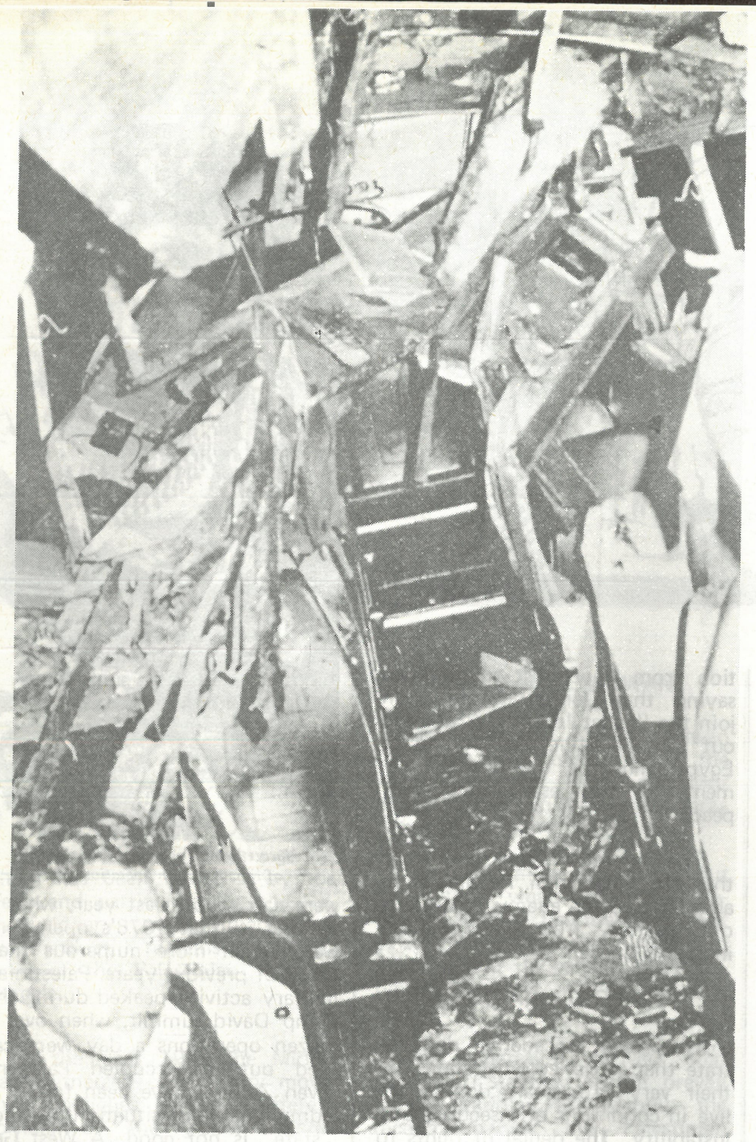
Although it is impossible to recall here all the operations which

Martyr Dalal Moghrabi, heroic leader of Kamal Adwan operation

were carried out last year, what is striking is, that 1978's operations were much more numerous than those of previous years. Palestinian military activity peaked during the Camp David summit, when over a dozen operations a day were carried out in Occupied Palestine. Even Zionists have been forced to admit that the situation in their "state" is not good. A West German daily, the "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" quoting Zionist sources, reported on 6 October 1978, that "ever since the announcement of the Camp David summit, the number of daily attacks has increased.... The police daily warn the public through press releases and advertisements to be on their guard."

CONCLUSION

Armed struggle is not only the major form of struggle being carried out by the Palestinian Revolution, but also that it has been stepped up because it is the only option left open for the Palestinian people.



The other major fact that emerges is that the intensity of operations has reached a peak during periods of attempted capitulation, denial of basic Palestinian human rights, and attempts to bypass the Palestinian people and their representatives, the PLO. From all this it can safely be concluded that Palestine and its people were and still are the ones with all the peace cards in the Middle East.

Last but not least these operations prove that there can be no security for Israel, irrespective of Arab capitulation, US backing and Israeli acts of genocide and terrorism to suppress the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Given Israeli intransigence, the Palestinian people will continue to negotiate in the only language Begin and his ilk understand, i.e., the language of revolutionary violence, until the liberation of Palestine and the setting up of an independent Palestinian state on the soil of Palestine. A glimpse at last year's operations is a proof that the Palestinian people are more than capable of attaining their goal.

OUR COMMANDOS RESPOND TO ISRAELI RAIDS

Among the numerous operations carried out by our commandos in the occupied territories in December 1978, the most significant were those which came in immediate response to the latest savage Israeli attacks on South Lebanon:

No 172/78:

Responding to the savage raids by Israeli war jets on Palestinian camps in South Lebanon on 20 December 1978, and which caused 13 casualties among old men, women and children, the martyr Hajj Hassan unit, 3 hours after the Israeli raid, attacked a group of Israelis with hand grenades, near Bab al-Zahra in the centre of Jerusalem. The attack killed or injured not less than seven Israelis and damaged two military vehicles.

No 173/78:

Our commandos of special unit A, on 20 December, set off powerful timed explosive charge at the entrance of a restaurant in Daoud street, near Bab el-Khalil, in Jerusalem, where Israelis usually gather. At 12:00 noon the charge exploded, killing and injuring ten Israelis.

No 174/78:

Responding to the Israeli air raid on civilian targets in south Lebanon, our commando group 44, belonging to the heavy rockets unit, at 7:00 AM on 21 December, shelled enemy military position in Qiryat Shmona settlement, and the enemy afterwards admitted material and human losses. The Palestinian Revolution affirms that Israel's aggressive operations, aimed against our Palestinian and Lebanese people, will not be allowed to pass without response, and that it is capable of striking back in defence of our people.

No 175/78:

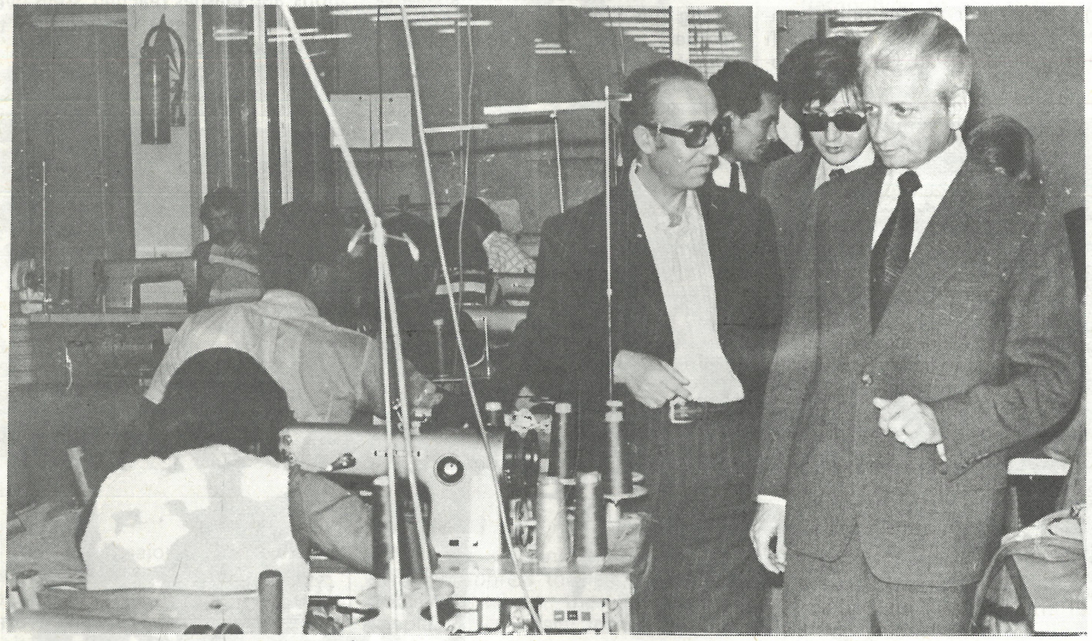
On 21 December, the Israeli enemy shelled the south Lebanese border villages with heavy artillery, resulting in human and material losses. In answer to this Israeli shelling, one of our rocket units launched a counter attack on Israeli artillery positions in Qiryat Shmona, inflicting losses on the enemy.

3065 COMMANDO OPERATIONS SINCE 1973

Israeli newspapers recently released statistics on Palestinian commando operations, Israeli casualities and border clashes including clashes along the Lebanese and the Syrian borders which occured between 27 October 1973 and the end of August 1978.

The report said that 176 Israeli soldiers were killed and 44 injured in borders clashes, while 159 civilians were killed and 870 injured. The report added that the number of Palestinian commando operations and clashes reached 3065 over the past five years, in addition to 1146 borders clashes.

NUCLEUS OF THE PALESTINIAN ECONOMY



Samed director Abu Ala' receives visiting Polish delegation

The "Production Society of the Sons of the Palestinian Martyrs SAMED", was created in 1969, out of the intention to help, and provide work for, the families of martyrs of the Palestinian revolution, based on the revolution's principle of economic self-reliance.

The following years saw a steady expansion of SAMED's production activities. The year 1978 has witnessed a remarkable growth and improvement in the agricultural and industrial sector, and also a particular success in the cinema department of SAMED. The directors as well as the workers of SAMED executed great efforts, sometimes under difficult circumstances, to meet the production targets earlier set. New production branches have been put under operation in the course of 1978. Moreover, several technical and commercial agreements have been signed with some European and African countries, notably with the socialist countries. Making use of new possiblilities, SAMED set up workshops and manufacturing centers in Beirut and other Lebanese cities.

EXPANSION OF PRODUCTION SITES

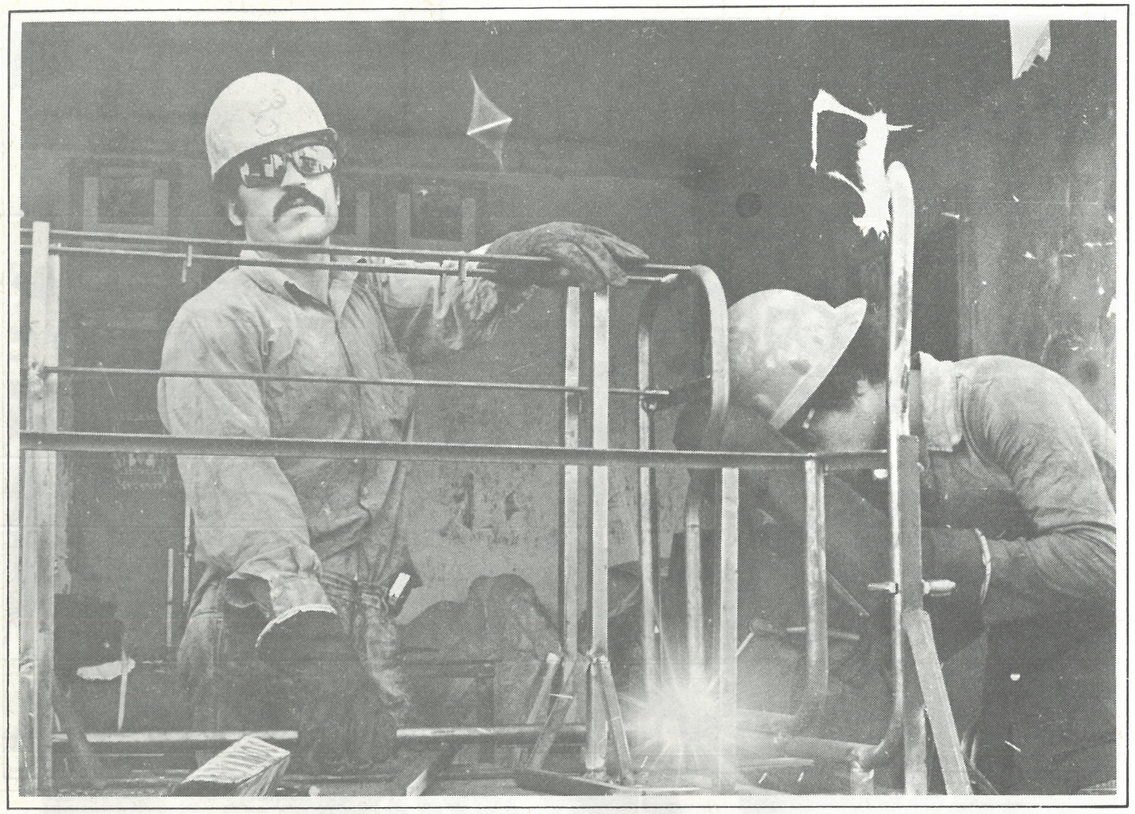
"On the basis of an agreement between SAMED and an Italian cooperative, we import raw materials necessary for the production of cloth materials, handkerchieves, towels, bed covers and other things to meet the needs of the masses of the camps. On the other hand, it enabled us to set up new workshops which open more work opportunities for Palestinians. This agreement has considerably improved our means of production", says Abu Ala'a, the director of the society. "Moreover", he continues, "we have increased our woodworking and ironworking. This will absorb by 1979 about 750 workers; the number now is 150." Clothes workshops have also been set up in Bourj al-Shamali camp (South Lebanon), besides an embroidery workshop in Tripoli and a plastic factory in Beirut.

Regarding the cinema section, cooperation agreements have been reached with an Italian organization and some socialist countries for co-production. It is within this framework, that the movie "Land Day" was produced in 1978. It is the first documentary film, that sketches the history of the Palestinian struggle in the occupied territories. This film has been projected with great success in West Europe and the socialist countries. "We hope to expand the scope of our activities in this domain", said Abu Ala'a, "but we lack specialized cadres; we actually lack producers and technicians."

AFRO-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION

Agricultural production has witnessed a quantative and qualitative increase. SAMED has spread its economic activities to African countries, where many projects have been executed. In some of these countries, the cadres of SAMED have contributed largely in executing agrarian reform schemes.

"The major objective of those Afro-Palestinian projects", continues Abu Ala'a, "is the reinforcement of the solidarity and the struggle that unites the Palestinian and African people. This is of great importance since the people of both regions confront the same colo-



nial and neo-colonial forces which still persist in the form of Zionism and Apartheid."

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Within the context of international relations, SAMED has participated in exhibitions and fairs organized in different countries. At the Leipzig Fair (East Germany), the Palestinian section was visited by Erich Honecker, the President of the Republic and the General secretary of the United Socialist Party.

In Bulgaria, the Prime minister, the Minister for foreign affairs, the Minister of commerce and other high ranking government officials visited the SAMED section during the inauguration of the Plovdiv Fair. On this occasion, important talks were held between the Ministers of foreign affairs and the President of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce on the one side and SAMED representatives on the other sides to forward Palestinian-Bulgarian cooperation.

SAMED has moreover exhibited its diversified products in Djibouti, Democratic Yemen and the People's Republic of Congo. In most of the Arab countries it has established permanent exhibition rooms.

Contacts have also been established with friendly parties and cooperatives in certain western countries, such as Italy, France, West Germany and Norway, to present the works of SAMED to their respective peoples.

SAMED also attended on an equal footing the International Workers Conference and the F.A.O. conference. Following the latter, the international organization asked the PLO to send, for a six months period, one of its engineers to participate in agricultural research work in North Yemen. "This is the first time the UN asks for the help of a professional Palestinian through the PLO. This encounter has also a political significance", added Abu Ala'a.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKER

The worker at SAMED is a militant of the economical, political and social life of the organization. The workers effectively contribute in improving production. They consider the means of production a collective property and their work efforts a contribution to the national liberation struggle.

The friendly and intimate atmosphere that exists during cooperational work at the establishment, is due to the fact that the directors and workers of SAMED alike are subjected to the same evils: the dispersion and the usurpation of their homeland. This creates cohesion among the workers of SAMED, be they full-time or part-time workers. From a social point of view, the workers of SAMED and their families enjoy numerous advantages, which other workers in private factories are deprived off, and this is in exchange of a minimum sum deducted from their salaries.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

SAMED has opened many professional technical training centers. At the sewing centers, for example, 35 girls have recently graduated becoming qualified workers after six months of training.

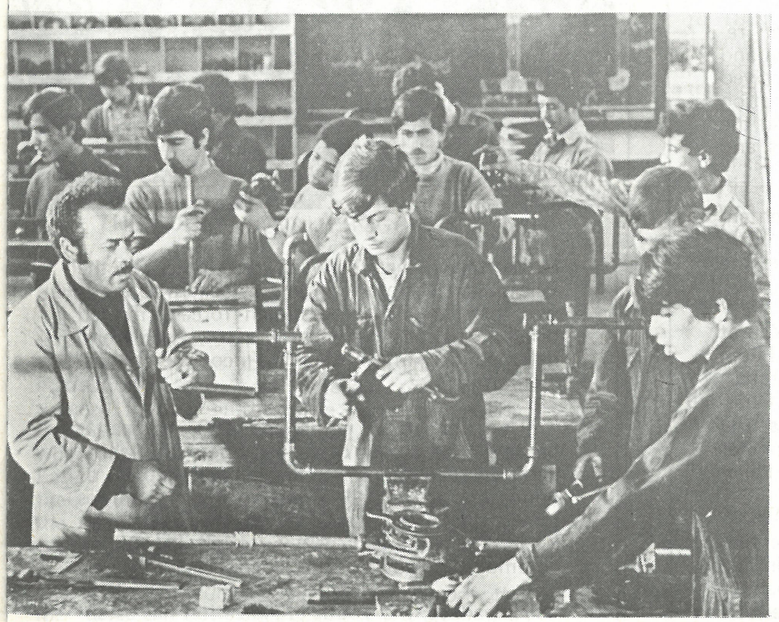
Marian, a 20 years old Palestinian, reports: "I have been at SAMED for 5 years where I learned to sow. Today I work at a cloth shop of 'The Three Martyrs' (Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan and Abu Youssef Najjar) and support a family of 12, of whom I am the eldest. I am not exaggerating when I state that SAMED has given me the opportunity to shoulder my responsibilities. When my family was expelled from Tal al-Zaatar, after the bloody fall of the camp, it was SAMED that extended to us help to evercome the suffering and troubles we faced. Last year we sent 60 workers to the G.D.R. and many others to the U.S.S.R., Hungary and Chechoslovakia to specialize in their respective professional work."

"SAMED pays particular attention to both personal initiative and collective production. Awards are given every year to the workshop, that produces the best results", said Abu Ala'a.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES

The workers at SAMED chose their own syndicate, the revolutionary committees, so that the responsible individuals are chosen democratically. They function as intermediator between the workers and the director, putting forward suggestions and demands of the workers. These committees also shoulders the tasks of solving problems that might arise in the institution, mainly regarding workers, and provide seminars for workers.

The revolutionary committees play an important role in the political mobilization of the Palestinian working classe. They organize from time to time political and revolutionary education courses, and thus contribute to the awarenes and development of the revolutionary consciousness of the Palestinian workers. Their slogan is: "The arm and the hand for the liberation of the Homeland."



"ASHBAL" AND "ZAHRAT"

THE PALESTINIAN YOUTH ORGANISATION

"The 'Ashbal' ('Lion Cubs') and 'Zahrat' ('Flowers') is one of the revolutionary associations of the Palestinian people. It is the central educational institution run directly by the General Command of Al-Assifa Forces, the military wing of Al-Fateh. Through its services, fighters and political cadres are brought up, always developing their capacities in order to achieve the aim of the Palestinian Revolution: the liberation of Palestine.

"The association is a youth institution representing the continuity of the Palestinian and Arab Revolution. Victory can be perceived through the eyes of the upcoming generation which represents the essence, the hope and the ultimate victory of the freedom fighters and the Palestinian people."

With these words comrade Abu Shehtah, deputy in charge of the "Ashbal" and "Zahrat" branch in Lebanon, explained to us the basic task of the youth organization.

The idea to create "The Ashbal and Zahrat Association" goes back to 1965, when Fateh launched the armed struggle for the liberation of occupied Palestine. It was clear to the Palestinian Revolution, that its struggle against the Zionist enemy is one of a protracted popular war, comprising successive generations of Palestinians.

It was thus not by accident, that the first Ashbal camp was established in 1968 in the Al-Kereimeh region, just near Al-Karamah in the Jordan valley, where the first large-scale

battle took place between the forces of the Palestinian Revolution and Israeli troops. It was there that the Palestinian forces inflicted heavy casualities in the ranks of the enemy and defeated the myth of the "inconquerable Israeli army".

The first camp comprised 400 Ashbal. It became later a core of cadres. Soon the Ashbal and Zahrat camps expanded and scores of youngsters from all Palestinian communities joined the first camps. Then the Palestinian leadership extended camps to all Palestinian communities outside the occupied territories.

Nowadays, the youth organization has established many camps in Syria and 14 camps in Lebanon. In addition, every summer, a pan-Arab camp is organized for seven weeks, gathered in Syria near Damascus. About 1,500 children aged between 6 and 15 years come together for training courses, games, sports activities and contests. The final graduation ceremonies are attended by high ranking officials of the Palestinian Revolution, usually PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat addresses the youths.

Friendship camp in Soviet Union

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The work of the youth organisation can be divided into two main sections:

During the winter period, nearly all Ashbal and Zahrat attend schools. At this period the institution does its best to help its members to succeed in their studies. The youth camps are transformed into libraries and reading rooms where volunteer teachers and members of the Fateh organization assist pupils in improving their studies. On Fridays and Sundays, when the students are out of school, the youths gather at the Ashbal and Zahrat centers.

During the summer period which extends for three months, the Ashbal and Zahrat are divided into two groups corresponding to their age: the 7 to 13 years age – group and the 14 to 18 years age – group. At these camps, the organization shoulders the responsibility of preparing the Ashbal tc be fighters or members of the political organization through various edicational programs.

These programs include scientific teaching, political orientation, and lectures given by prominent cadres about the history of the Palestinian resistance, and the immediate and strategic tasks of the Palestinian Revolution. The youths joining the organization also learn arts, handicrafts, carpentry, embroidery and sewing.

The Ashbal and Zahrat Association also directs artistic activities aiming at strengthening the children's belief in their people and their revolution. The Ashbal and Zahrat thus are involved in cultural activities such as performing national songs and dances. Palestinian folklore and heritage is target alongside with sports and games.

MILITARY SELF-DEFENSE

Para-military training is one of the items of

the scheduled programs. The para-military training courses are aimed at teaching those youths self-defense. Zionist Israel never hesitated to strike at civilians and Palestinian refugee camps without mercy or discrimination. Those courses are given alongside sports and exercises which promote physical flexibility and self-confidence. In practicing such physical activities, the youths are encouraged to learn collective work, courage, humility and self-denial. These characteristics are then reflected on their behavior when they attend school or play with other children.

INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

Participating in international children camps has been a tradition of the Association of the Ashbal and Zahrat. There they represent their country and their revolution. They become friends with the children of other people struggling for liberation and peace and they explain the causes and aims of their people's revolution and the tasks of the Ashbal. The Palestinian children are like any other country's children, they perform their school duties, practice sports, and love their country. They are human beings and freedom fighters struggling to live in peace and dignity.

Last year, the Association of the Ashbal and Zahrat participated in the World Peace Camp in Czechoslovakia with other 42 delegations from all over the world. As in other camps, the Palestinian delegation left a deep impression. It also received two medals in cleanliness and discipline. The Palestinian delegation exchanged political views and experience. Language was not an obstacle, as the Palestinian children could use drawings and signs to present and illustrate their information. The meetings and dialogue held there will contribute to further cooperation between the Palestinian youth organization and other countries' delegations.

The Association of the Ashbal and Zahrat pays great attention to raise specialized educational cadres and qualified volunteers to run this revolutionary mission in bringing up a militant generation, dedicated to create a future of peace, democracy and freedom.

PALESTINE RED CRESCENT SOCIETY:

THE CHALLENGE

Revolution was always the categoric "Response" to the "Challenge" and to desires for change.

The 1948 tragedy uprooted the Palestinian people from their national territory and made them "refugees" who passed on from generation to generation this terrible inheritance: deprivation from land, country, past and identity. This deprivation of natural birthrights was the baptism of Palestinian children, but at the same time it sowed the germs of the revolutionary future in their consciousness.

Thus the exodus, the refugee camps, the 1967 defeat, all these overwhelming historic events gave rise to the great "Challenge".

"There would doubtless never have been Palestinian guerrillas if there had not been the camps," Xavier Baron has written. "The Palestinians who became refugees in 1948, became Palestinians again thanks to the Palestinian Revolution." *(The Palestinians, A People).*

Responding to the "Challenge", the emergence of this combatant in the refugee camps of misery heralded the Palestinian awakening.

This rebirth has been active even within the most rigid structures and has deeply penetrated all the geo-political sectors of the dispersed Palestinian community, to refashion a social homogeneity, strengthen national unity and above all preserve the Palestinian identity.

This assumption of responsibility for the Palestinian population by the Revolution could not confine itself to guns and training camps. It was closely linked to the development of daily life in the refugee camps:

a) The awareness of the urgent needs of various socio-economic groups.
b) The development and organisation of socio-economic life and professional work.

c) The establishment and organisation of medical, social and cultural associations.
d) The reintegration of every Palestinian into this new psycho-social environment.

It is in fact the creation of new structures, a new way of life and a new mentality for a people reborn, who have decided to take control of their own destiny and who henceforth refuse to bear the label of "refugees".

ORIGIN, BIRTH AND STATUS OF THE PALESTINIAN RED CRESCENT

As Yasser Arafat once said, "the Revolution is not only the combatant's rifle, it is also a doctor's bistoury, a nurse's patience, a writer's pen, a farmer's plough, a dress embroidered in a tent by the light of a kerosine lamp."

In fact, it is this complementary relationship between armed struggle and the medico-social struggle which acts as the true umbilical cord of the Palestinian people's resistance.

The same circumstances, in which the Palestinian Resistance was born, led to the establishment of the Palestinian Red Crescent with its wide range of activities.

Some young activist doctors in the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan decided to establish a national society. This project became a reality on the night of 25-26 December 1968 and was officially announced by the Palestinian National Council on the fourth anniversary of the launching of the Revolution, on 1 January 1969.

According to the Geneva Convention, only one national society has the right to fulfill these humanitarian functions in any country. At the international conference in Istanbul in 1969, the Society secured a resolution allowing the establishment of PRCS branches in every country where there were Palestinian populations (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Kuwait, Tunisia and Qatar). Article 1 of the PRCS statute is very symbolic: it declares Jerusalem as its headquarters, or provisionally anywhere chosen by the Executive Committee.

With Arab national societies, the PRCS won the status of a full member, and was accepted as an observer by the international associations (Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun). The PRCS co-operates with the International Committee of the Red Cross, and has established co-ordination with it to deal with the following cases:

– Contacting and visiting detainees in Israeli prisons.
– Expostulations made to the authorities concerned.
– Setting up committees of inquiry to study serious cases.
– Reuniting families.
– Correspondence and contact between families in the occupied territories and people outside.
– Committees for distributing medicines, food, blankets and so forth.

"FROM A TENT IN GAZA TO 30 HOSPITALS"

Dr. Fathi Arafat, head of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, says that the Palestinian people's medico-social struggle began within the PRCS. "From the time that the Palestinian Revolution took up armed struggle," he added, "it simultaneously undertook an equally arduous parallel struggle: to provide for the urgent needs of a population who were forced to endure multiple acts of aggression (occupation, expulsion, exile, displacement and so on). So the PRCS was set up to try to resolve the problems of the population so as to help them resist to this horrific environment, in preparation for the return, which is highly effective in mobilising the Palestinian masses.

"Since its foundation, the Society has drawn up a plan of action which expands horizontally to cover all sectors of the Palestinian people in all their places of exile. Vertical expansion followed to enable this organisation to be built up. Thus, after starting with a clinic in Wahdat camp in Jordan, we constructed another clinic in Rashidiah camp in Lebanon. We went from the construction of a hospital in Beirut to the construction of another clinic in Qatar, and from embroidering in a tent in Gaza to an exhibition of our cultural heritage in America. We have gone from an ambulance that tours routes mined by the Israelis to a troupe touring France and presenting our social struggle and our flokloric dances."

– Could you explain to us this dual medico-social action? –

"We have already set up 30 hospitals and 100 clinics. These specialized centers meet a large portion of our medical needs, while our professional training centers (nursery, schools, typing, secretarial, tailoring, handicraft) cover a large part of our socio-economic needs."

"Our action, whether it is social or medical,

is based on studies and planning. The dual action has a human essence intended to preserve the dignity of man."

"Our hospitals and professional centers are at the disposal of everybody, irrespective of colour, creed or political affinity. This social help is given out of a basic principle give and take. This is done in our relations with organizations and social centers of the world and in cooperation with identical societies in the Arab world. Parallel to its humanitarian mission the PRCS is the promoter of a national Arab mission."

AWAKENING THE PEOPLE

In the camps where the population density reaches a critical level, the sanitary situation is often precarious. It is linked to the insalubrity of the camps and thus constitutes an environment promoting the spreading of diseases.

Preventive medicine aims at fighting unsanitary conditions, and it is through this, that also the conscience of the masses is awakened. It necessitates collective efforts without restriction or reservation, and also requires a sense of responsibility and a spirit of dynamism.

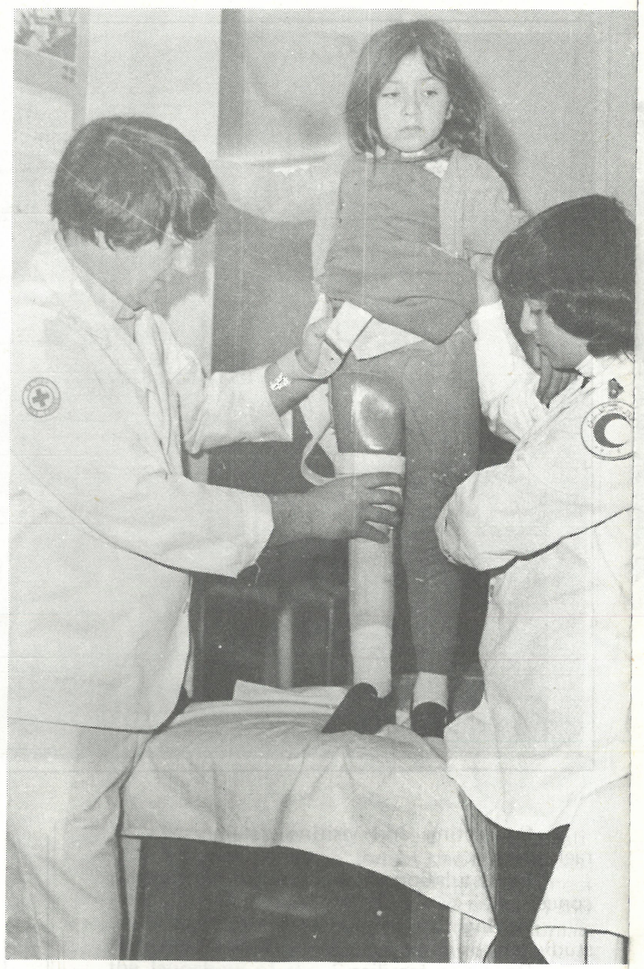
The clinics and centers of the P R C S for maternal and infant protection function according to a socio-medical plan with the participation of the camps' inhabitants. This plan includes:

- Control and sterilisation of the water
- Anti-rodent campaigns
- Garbage collection
- Vaccination campaigns.

The sanitation campaigns are made possible by a collective joint effort of volunteers, social workers and nurses living in the camps, and they make use of posters, bocklets and films.

One should note the kind of human relationship which the social workers establish with the camps' population in the course of their sanitarian education campaign.

Those social workers, who live in the same camp together with the people and share their problems and cause, are best able to awaken the population, and encourage the people to accomplish achievements which transcend their usual habits. By affirming the confidence and dignity of the people, they contribute to do away with the chains of the demoralizing structures imposed in the course of long years. The Revolution inherited 20 years of bad habits, when the "refugees" survived due to "international charity", while gathering around UNRWA, lining up at dawn, their baskets on



their heads, their children clinging to their feet, their "refugee" cards in their hands.

But now the Revolution has created a different Palestinian image: The camps are no longer places where one hangs on to his distress and his exile, but are beehives of activity where every person has got a role: the children are in school, the girls are in the professional centers, the women embroider to be able to pay the hospital where they give birth to their children. The fathers are in the factories, the sons confront the enemy, and the orphans stay in educational centres where they are trained to become a man, a fighter, but never again a "refugee".

CURATIVE MEDICINE

The hospitals of the Palestinian Red Crescent receive around 3000 cases per day. The clinics transfer the urgent cases to hospitals. The treatments are absolutely free for fighters, and for the families of martyrs or those wounded due to bombardments.

The hospitals or clinics are built in the camps on the peripheries of the unpopulated areas where Palestinians and Lebanese share the same misery and the same diseases.

The hospitals treat all people without any discrimination. Did not Dr. Iraqi operate phalangists militia men wounded around Tal al-Zaatar during the terrible blockade? The patient will only be asked of his illness, not his creed or nationality.

NAZARETH HOSPITAL

A Palestinian woman, Umm Adel, affirms: "My son was cured because he was taken care of at Nazareth hospital. This name is sanctified for it brought him luck."

Our hospitals' names are names of Palestinian cities and villages. Nazareth hospital, this "bringer of luck", is the only hospital for children in Lebanon; although there are pediatric departments in other places, they depend on hospital centers.

Nazareth hospital has modest equipment compared with its pressing needs. Its equipment is 40 beds and 7 incubators.

It was built with whatever was available. It was constructed right after the tragedy of Tal al-Zaatar, with its harvest of disturbed, wounded, dehydrated and mal-nourished children. Some were orphans, others lost. That is when Nazareth hospital started. One quarter of the children treated are Lebanese. The hospital also trains mothers in correct methods of childcare.

One child in the hospital is little Dalal. Three years old, hospitalized after the Israeli attack on South Lebanon in March 1978, she was found in the ruins, with all her family dead. She seemed to be paralized, she refused all nourishment, she said nothing, also she was blind. Later on, she was able to talk, for her paralysis was caused by shock. She is going to be admitted to an institution for the blind.

Behind her blind eyes, she listens alertly for every noise, every movement... Being blind? What does it matter? It is another challenge in addition to those which come with being born Palestinian. It will make young Dalal a model after the grown Dalal Moughrabi, who died in occupied Palestine while performing the Kamal Adwan operation on 11 March 1978.

CENTER OF ARTIFICIAL LIMBS AND PHYSIOTHERAPY

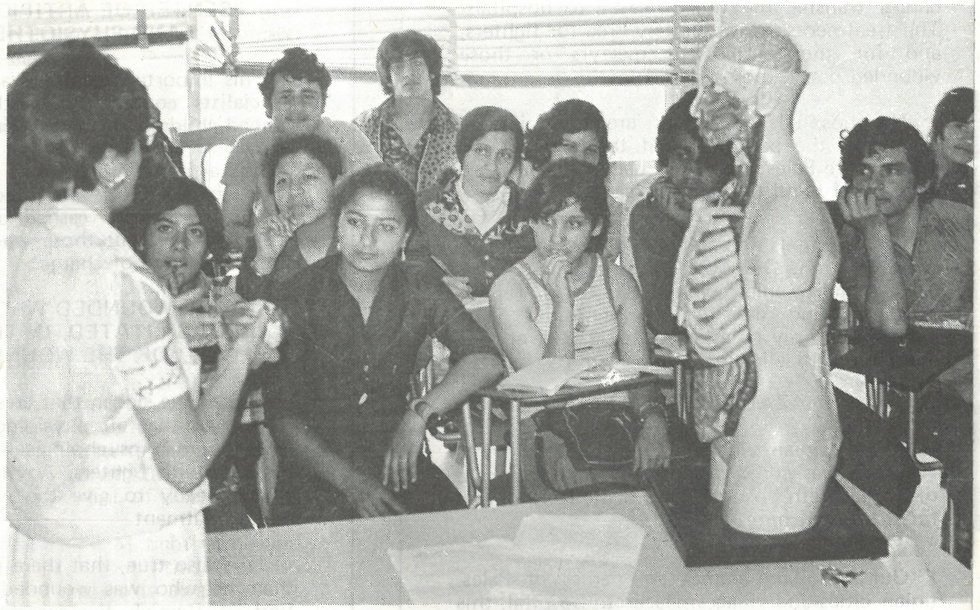
This important center is at Ramleh hospital. Specialists conduct physiotherapy for handicapped children and the victims of war.

The artificial limbs are of local manufacture, although materials are imported. Token fees for treatment are cashed of those who can afford to pay, but those who can pay nothing are treated free of charge.

"THE WOUNDED WHO HAS BEEN REHABILITATED, IN THE SERVICES OF THE WOUNDED"

This is the slogan that greets one in Ramleh. It is true, that all physiological handicaps affect the man psychologically, but this is not the case with fighters. Anyhow, the hospital is always ready to give the wounded psychosomatic treatment.

It is also true, that there is no better doctor than he who was wounded. That is why we find at Ramleh the secretary of the center,



who is semi-paralized, directing the affairs of the center sitting on his wheel chair. The specialist, who makes the therapeutic shoes, works behind his table – very easily despite his poliomyelitis. The one, who makes the artificial limbs, walks through his hallway with self-assurance, and with the help of his own artificial right leg. So the majority of workers are handicapped and work under the direction of specialists.

Hassan, the director of the center, tells how one Ibrahim was treated after losing both arms due to Israeli bombardments last March. Some moments later, a car stops in front of Hassan, and the driver invites him to go for a ride. He turns out to be Ibrahim who is driving proudly with the help of his artificial limbs. He is able to turn the steering wheel inspite of the careful movements that such an act needs. The drive ends with the singing of "Biladi, Biladi", the Palestinian national anthem.

Hassan showed to a group of foreign journalists a fighter practising using his artificial limbs. "But, why do you show me to these men? ", he protests, "Why do you insist on reminding me that I was wounded? I have already forgotten my accident. I am much better than these visitors. The prove is that tomorrow I will regain my unit...".

We noticed that a fighter who has lost two of his limbs adapts to walking more quickly than another person who is less seriously wounded. One wounded man, Fouad, said: "Having a leg extra or a leg less is nothing dramatic. Even if you lose a limb, you continue living, but if you lose your weapon, you begin to die..." So we are not facing a handicap, but a strong, obstinate will testifying that a better tomorrow is for those who have reversed the law of passivity in the face of fate, which has long imposed itself on the "traditional" mentality.

PROFESSIONAL CENTER FOR TYPING, SECRETARIAL WORK, SEWING

This center is on the peripheries of Bourj-el-Barajneh camp. 60% of the people trained there are Lebanese. To be admitted, a girl must have her school certificate and pay 30 Lebanese pound per month. (The official price is 300 Lebanese pound in other centers in the country).

This token sum is charged to accustom the student to paying her debts. If she can't afford to pay, the center will get her pieces to embroider from other artisanal workshops. This will give her a salary allowing her to pay her debt. Some university graduates learn secretarial skills at these centers, which permits them to find work in Palestinian institutions.

Umm Saqer affirms that the student's nationality is registered only for statistical purposes, but never his religion. "When I am faced with two requests for employment, one Lebanese and one Palestinian, I am rather tempted to hire the Lebanese, to teach our generation the spirit of generosity that emanates from our traditions."

SCHOOL OF NURSING

The Palestinian Red Crescent has founded two nursing schools at Beirut and Tyre, and there is a plan for a third one at Saida. Each of these schools has a modest library where books are often donated by friends or well-wishers. UNICEF has given audio-visual equipment free of charge.

Dr. Dajani affirms that some of his student nurses study by the light of the street lamps near their tents. He is proud to be the teacher of some doctors who studied under gas lamps, and who are today professors at the American University of Beirut.

This integration into professional life inevitably supposes a liberation of the condition of women.

"Not to dare to choose, that is the most disasterous choice". Before the Revolution there was not a question of how to break out of the traditional environment in which a woman was confined. Her natural attitude to survive and develop despite the severe circumstances was "sufficient". The revolutionary climate which penetrated every tent, the new professional and socio-medical centers prepared to accept women, all this contributed in creating in them the desire for change and the will to transform existence and environment. The Kufiya took the place of the veil. From this point, the woman is militant in all domaines of life in the camp. Whatever she is, student, nurse, secretary, doctor or simply a mother of a family, she has a role from now on, a mission: to preserve the memories and the love of Palestine in her family environment and profession.

VISIT TO A FIGHTER IN GAZA HOSPITAL

Adnan, aged 15, has been in hospital for four months. His leg is badly injured. His parents live in the Yarmouk camp in Syria.

"I am the oldest, and my mother told me not to go, because I would die. I told her not to cry; that I was going because I am a Palestinian." He looked at his crutches: "Tell the doctor that I can walk. Why do they still keep me? My friends have been injured and have already gone back to their training camp."

Adnan did not have a childhood, but a rugged period that gave his eyes this sense of determination and will. He cried out again: "If you don't speak to the doctor, I shall escape." This determination, not more than 15 years old, yet expresses the long struggle of a people which refuses to die.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY

In the heart of the Revolution, in the shade of medico-social professional institutions, fatalism disappeared from the mentality of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people forms a compact unity that maintains its traditions and its struggle with a consistency and strength unique in the annals of humanity.

Though history seemed to have confirmed the eternity of his exile, the fighter has surged in the camps to reject the "condemnation of destiny" with its "all that is written". He has fought this fatalism which for a long time was the morphine of the Arab world.

It needed the Palestinian with his gun and his book to prove that actually nothing "is written", that the reconstruction of history is his own.

APPEAL TO OUR READERS

Our people, in their enduring struggle against an arrogant aggressor and occupier with massive finance and all means of destruction at its disposal, needs the solidarity and support of friends all over the world.

On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, we call on our readers in particular to support the humanitarian work of those Palestinian institutions which untiringly help, protect and rehabilitate the numerous victims of Zionist raids and mass brutalities. The following are the Palestinian institutions in most urgent need of your contributions, which may be sent to:

"Palestine Red Crescent Society",
The Arab Bank, Ras-Beirut Branch
No. 2491
Beirut – Lebanon

"Tal Al-Zaatar-House of Steadfastness" c/o
General Union of Palestinian Women,
The Arab Bank, Ras-Beirut Branch
No. 51080-74404-1
Beirut – Lebanon

THE TAL AL-ZAATAR FOUNDATION: "THE CHIDRENS' HOUSE OF STEADFASTNESS"

Children rescued from Tal al-Zaatar, suffering from dehydration

The need, and the idea, for establishing the "Tal al-Zaatar Foundation – Children's House of Steadfastness" goes back to the Lebanese civil war, when fascist gangs launched their savage attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese refugee camp of Tal al-Zaatar, slaughtering several thousands of civilians, among them nearly all the grown-up male inhabitants.

The General Union of Palestinian Women (G.U.P.W.) took the initiative to confront the terrible consequences of this massacre and its shocking impacts felt also on the surviving children.

Rashidah, the responsible in charge of the Children's House of Steadfastness, gave the following briefing to **"Palestine"** about the work of the Foundation:

After the escape of the first groups of civilians living in the camp, the institution was initiated in order to take care of those children who lost both of their parents during the attacks against the camp. There were 130 children who lost their fathers and mothers, 150 who lost their mothers and thousands of those who lost their fathers.

On 12 August 1976, the Executive Committee of the General Union of Palestinian Women took a decision to establish the Foundation which would reply upon the support of the G.U.P.W. and the PLO.

Rashidah emphasized that it was urgent to take care of those children who lost both their parents. At the time the institution was established there were around 300 children who needed care, while the Children's House of Steadfastness cannot handle more than 150 children. This fact has been the most difficult one confronting the Foundation, for its physical capacity is still limited.

THE ALTERNATIVE "MOTHERS"

Children under six years attend kindergartens inside the children's House of Steadfastness where the "mothers" help develop their talents. To achieve its target, the House applies the system of the alternative "house", the alternative "family," and the alternative "mother" in order to compensate these children for their parents, families and dwellings lost in Tal al-Zaatar. This system has been able to minimize shocks of war which the children were suffering, along with partially compensating for the loss of their parents.

The "mothers" and "housekeepers" are themselves mainly survivors from Tal al-Zaatar camp, who acquire nutritional, sanitary and administrative training. Every "mother" takes care of eight children. She arranges their things and prepares them for school in the morning.

Reviving in "alternative families"

She receives them at noon and the entire family joins the other families at dinner. She also helps them in their lessons under the supervision of those people who are responsible for education.

At the kindergartens, the "mother" in charge takes care of the children all the time with the cooperation of other "mothers" and employees and provides all necessities including food, clothes, medical care and amusements.

The "Children's House of Steadfastness" sends its children who are above six years old to UNRWA schools. They attend the classes as other children do, and when they come back, they find their "families" waiting for them, like the rest of children living with their own families. This approach offers psychological tranquility and avoids making them feel as if they are living in an orphanage.

COLLECTIVE WORK

The institution has an administrative council composed of four members of the Executive Committee of the G.U.P.W., besides some experienced cadres specialized in education, psychology, sociology and medical welfare.

The head of the Foundation supervises all activities of the institution. In order to improve the educational standards, the institution organizes courses to raise the equalification of the cadres in different fields.

The administrative council coordinates its actions with other institutions of the Palestinian Revolution, such as the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. The fruitful efforts exerted by the administration of the institution and its volunteers have contributed to making the Tal al-Zaatar Foundation a model institution.

The daily activities in the House embody the theory of collective work. Such activities comprise sports, art, embroidery, music, scouting and folkloric dances which the children organize under the supervision of specialized cadres and volunteers. Rashidah emphasized that these activities are vital from the social and psychological standpoints of giving a sense of equality and normality for all the children.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Rashidah concluded: "As you know, we need a fixed budget to enable us to expand the institution and absorb those children which we could not accept for financial reasons. We also want to establish a rehabilitation centre for those young men who have ended their preparatory studies. The expenditures of the institute are increasing day by day. Our expenditures for the first ten months were 253,000 Lebanese Pounds, not including medicine, food stuff and clothes. Every child costs us around 175 Pounds per month. The sources for our financial needs are only Fateh and the G.U.P.W. We are in serious need of financial and material assistance to meet the needs of those children who are victims of perpetual Israeli aggressions against Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages. We are doing our best to bring up a generation whose parents' martyrdom would not be an obstacle to a shining future."

THE PALESTINIAN SOCIETY OF THE BLIND:

A STEP FORWARD

The Society of the Palestinian Blind is one of the revolutionary achievements which, along with other institutions, contributes to reinforcing the affiliation of the Palestinian masses to the Revolution. It encourages their effective participation in the defense of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Although the Society was established recently, on March 16, 1977, it has been able to extend humanitarian services to all blind Palestinians who need such services, due to the efforts exerted by all concerned people belonging to this institution.

In charge of the Society is Comrade Rebhi Abu Jamal, who was blinded resisting the savage campaign which the Jordanian regime launched against the forces of the Palestinian Revolution in September 1970. Comrade Abu Jamal emphasizes, that the Society considers itself responsible for all Palestinian blind people, wherever they are, even those who are suffering in the Israeli enemy's jails.

Following is the essence of the report on the Society's activities, which Comrade Abu Jamal gave to *Palestine* on the occasion of the fourteenth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution:

PROGRAM AND MEMBERSHIP

"The Society's administrative council is responsible for taking care of affairs of the Blind, for knowing their whereabouts and their needs. Any Palestinian who is blind can practice his right to be a member of the Society. Likewise, those suffering from eye weakness can join the Society. As for the number of members of the Society, it has so far organised about 173 blind Palestinians living in Lebanon. Among them, there are 20 who were injured due to Israeli raids on the Palestinian camps. The Society's services are offered to all blind Palestinians no matter which organization they belong to."

"Despite our limited material capabilities and the limited number of cadres with experience in dealing with the blind, the Society has been able to offer the following:

— Monthly food rations, clothes and blankets several times a year. This aid is extended also to the members of the blind person's family.

— Financial aid for those who are in urgent need.

— Technical rehabilitation and vocational training; providing job offers.

— Covering the costs for those who want to complete their studies at appropriate schools.

— Raw materials necessary for housework by the Society.

— Holding social and political gatherings aimed at introducing people to each other, besides monthly visits.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

"In fact we do our best to establish close relations with all corresponding societies, so that we can exchange experiences. Up till now, we have direct contacts with the Lebanese Blind Society, but we hope that our representatives abroad will increasingly take care of our affairs, as they are the link between us and brotherly and friendly countries."

"We have succeeded in bringing up cadres who have become self-reliant and, following their rehabilitation, are able to work in other institutions. We have also established special workshops for the blind. We also hope to establish branches for the Society in all places where there are Palestinian communities. As for the blind's aspirations for the future, they do not differ from those of the militants in the ranks of the Palestinian Revolution. We want to return and exercise our legitimate national rights on our homeland's national soil."

Comrade Abu Jamal concluded by emphasizing that the struggle against the Zionist enemy is one of humanity and civilization, and that the Palestinian Revolution is interested in promoting its humanitarian and civilizational aspects in spite of the conspiracies which aim to liquidate it.

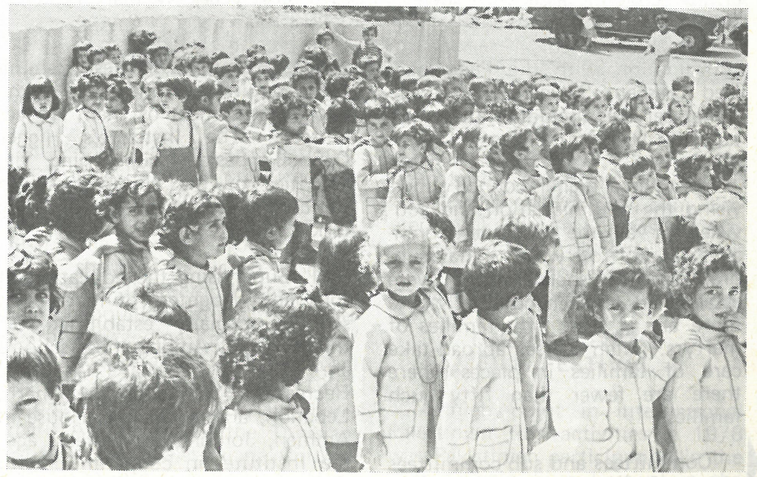
THE INSTITUTION FOR SOCIAL AFFAIRS AND WELFARE FOR FAMILIES OF CAPTIVES AND MARTYRS

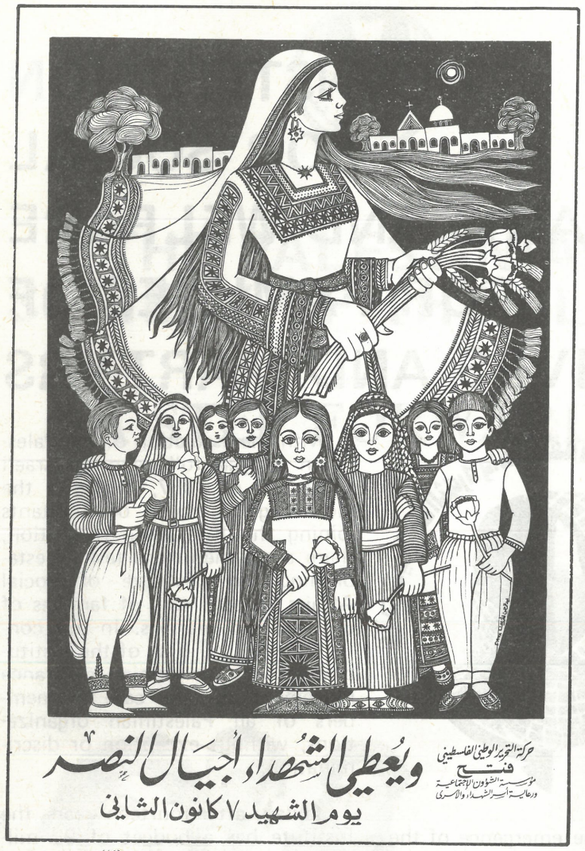
Following the emergence of the Palestinian Revolution at the beginning of 1965, thousands of militants joined the revolution. As a result, the tasks of social welfare were diversified and a committee for social affairs was set up in 1966.

With the escalation of the Palestinian struggle following the Israeli aggression of 1967, and with the increasing numbers of militants joining the Palestinian revolution, there arose the urgent task of establishing the Institute of Social Affairs to take care of families of captives and martyrs. In this conflict it was the first of the institutions of the Palestinian resistance movement to take care of members of all Palestinian organizations, without exception or discrimination.

Today, after fourteen years, the Institute has a budget of 90 million Lebanese pounds (30 million dollars), spent in the following manner:

— Welfare for the families of martyrs, missing people, captives and wounded persons.





"Our martyrs give birth to the generation of victory"

> "Our revolution shoulders its humanitarian responsibility to express our gratitude to those who have preceded us, and as a token of appreciation to those who have sacrificed and resisted, and to bring up a new generation of revolutionaries to continue what their fathers and brothers have begun."
>
> Yasser Arafat

— Compensation for the families of victims of Israeli military operations against civilians.

The task of welfare includes giving economic assistance such as financial aid and emergency aid. It also includes medical services in coordination with the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, and educational services including kindergartens and training courses.

There is a higher council supervising the administration and activities of all the Institute's branches. It is note-worthy that sub-branches for social affairs were established in each country where there are at least fifty families of martyrs. Fateh offices abroad take care of families in places where there are fewer than fifty such families.

Committees and sub-committees take care of the Institute's tasks. These committees and sub-committees also pay visits and hold celebrations on feast days for martyrs' families, as well as hold rallies every year on Martyrs' Day, January 7.

The members of these committees acquire the confidence of the people, and most of them are volunteers. The Institute's Higher Council, besides supervising the activities of the committees and sub-committees, has the following tasks:

1. Supervising the education of sons and daughters of martyrs at schools specially established for this purpose. Among these schools are Is'ad Al Tufula ("Childress' Recreation") in Souq Al Gharb, Lebanon, and Al Makdis House in Amman, Jordan. Three years ago, the Institute, in cooperation with some sympathetic philanthropists, established a big educational project called "The Educational City" near Damascus. When it is finally completed, this project will comprise five different schools and colleges, ranging from kindergarten to technical high schools.

2. Increasing the number of kindergartens, of which a number have already been established in the camps, to meet the needs of the people and to secure sound social welfare for the children of the militants of the Palestinian Revolution.

3. Supporting the steadfastness of Palestinian prisoners in the occupied homeland Palestine. It is hoped that the Institute can offer, via the International Red Cross, some of the things the prisoners need such as clothes, books, medicines and nutritious food.

4. The Institute takes care of the injured and has established a convalescence center for this purpose. The local committees visit the injured in hospitals. The Institute shoulders the responsibility for dispatching seriously wounded people abroad for medical treatment.

The Institute confronts the task of maintaining the steadfastness of the militants of the Palestinian Revolution and their families in the face of perpetual Israeli attacks against Palestinian camps. It views the future with hope and has confidence that the supporters of the just Palestinian struggle will increase their contributions.

PALESTINIAN FILM:

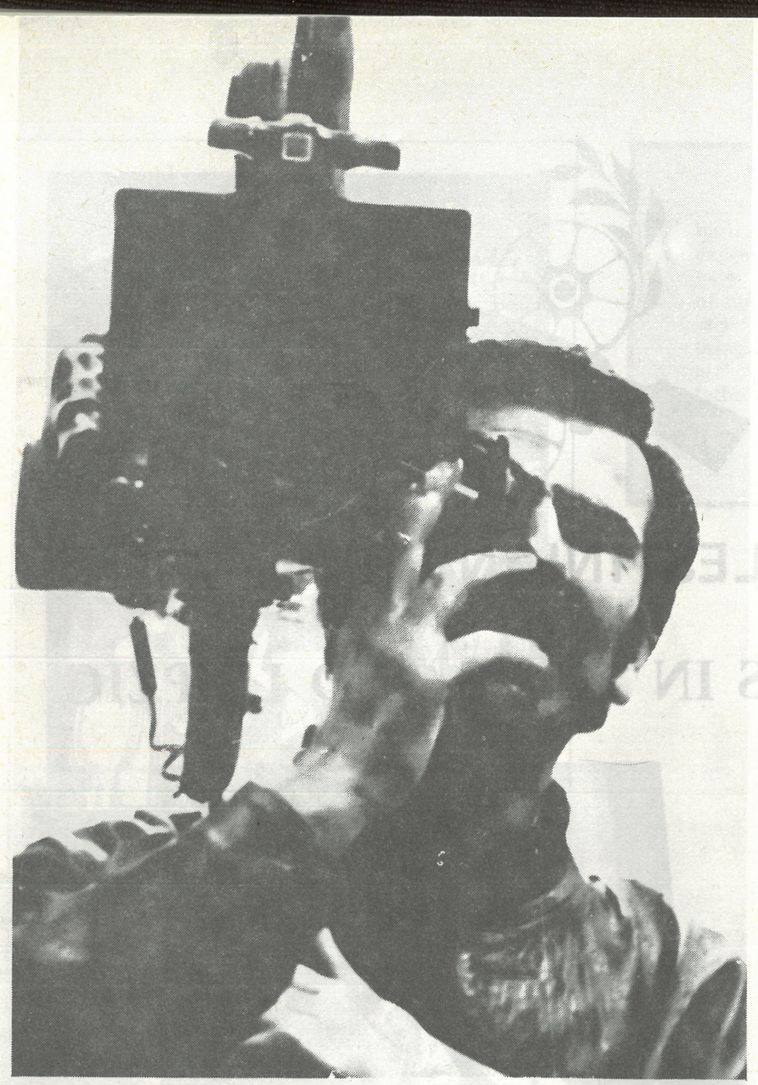
SUCCESSES IN TUNIS AND LEIPZIG

There was a moving scene during the recent 7th Carthage Film Festival in Tunisia (16-20 November 1978), when one of the main Tunisian movie theatres, the "Mondial", was in an official cermony re-named the "Hani Jawhariyeh Movie Theatre", commemorating one of the main initiators and the first martyr of the Palestinian Cinema Institution of the Unified Information of the PLO. The 7th Carthage Festival, which brought together film productions from the Arab world, Africa, Asia, and — for the first time — from Latin America, in general proved to be a manifestation of solidarity with the Palestinian cause. The Palestinian participants were overwhelmed by the ever present warmth and sympathy shown by the audience and the Tunisian people in the streets. Above all, the film "Tal al-Zaatar", which recounts the anti-fascist resistance and the heroic fight of a Palestinian refugee camp, was awarded the "Special Prize of the Jury" in the competition. "Tal al-Zaatar" (directed by Mustafa Abu Ali, Pino Adriano and Jean Chamoun; Camera: Muti' Ibrahim, Omar Mokhtar, Qassem Saad and Samir Nimer)is a co-production of the Palestinian Cinema Institution and Italian Unitelfilms. The Carthage Festival also included a special session: "Palestine — 30 years of occupation", where Palestinian — produced films and foreign films on the Palestinian cause were shown. Among others, the French "Groupe Vincennes" showed its latest documentary film (by Serge Leperon and Guy Chapouillet) on the "Life and Death of Ezzedine Kalak", the late PLO representative in Paris, who was murdered in September 1978 by pro-Zionist and imperialist hangmen. At the end of the Tunisian festival, the Palestinian Cinema Institution also gave its own "Hani Jawhariyeh Prize" to one of the new Latin American films. It is "The Sons of Fiaro", a film directed by Fernando Solanas, an Argentine, using an old epic poem as a vehicle to portray the heroic struggle of the people of today.

Hind Jawhariyeh awarding "Hani Jawhariyeh Prize" on behalf of Palestinian Cinema Institution at Carthage Festival

THE 21st LEIPZIG FILM FESTIVAL

A high point in international Palestinian film activities in 1978 was Palestinian participation in the 21st Leipzig Film Festival in the



Hani Jawhariyeh, martyred in Lebanon in 1976

Abu Ali and showing the work of Hani Jawhariyeh; and also the film "Tal al-Zaatar". The Palestinian film makers, moreover, achieved an overwhelming success when the film "Day of the Land", a SAMED production directed by Ghalib Sha'ath which describes the enduring resistance of our masses in occupied Palestine, was awarded a "Golden Prize". This was the first time that a Palestinian film won such a prize at the Leipzig Festival.

In a special performance in solidarity with the Palestinians and all struggling people of the world, American folk singer Dean Reed, just released from a US jail, addressed the festival's audience. A bulgarian film, "The Mother of the Palestinians," was also shown.

Once again, the Palestinian Cinema Institution awarded its own "Hani Jawharieh Prize", this time to a British production, a film on the life and death of Steve Biko, martyred by the South African racists. The Palestinian award was given to the film "for its contribution in exposing the racist rule in South Africa and as an expression of our solidarity with the African people fighting against fascism and racial suppression".

PERSPECTIVES

At present, the Palestinian Cinema Institution of the PLO is working on two new films, one about the struggle in occupied Palestine, and another about the war in South Lebanon in early 1978. Apart from this, the Institution is about to increase its documentary "Newsreel" productions. A new magazine "Al-Sura Al-Falastiniya" ("The Palestinian Image"), has been produced to deal with Arab and world-wide revolutionary film making as well as with Zionist film propaganda. The Palestinian Cinema Institution intends to reorganize its structure, and in particular seeks to intensify cooperation with all progressive film makers in the Arab countries and around the world.

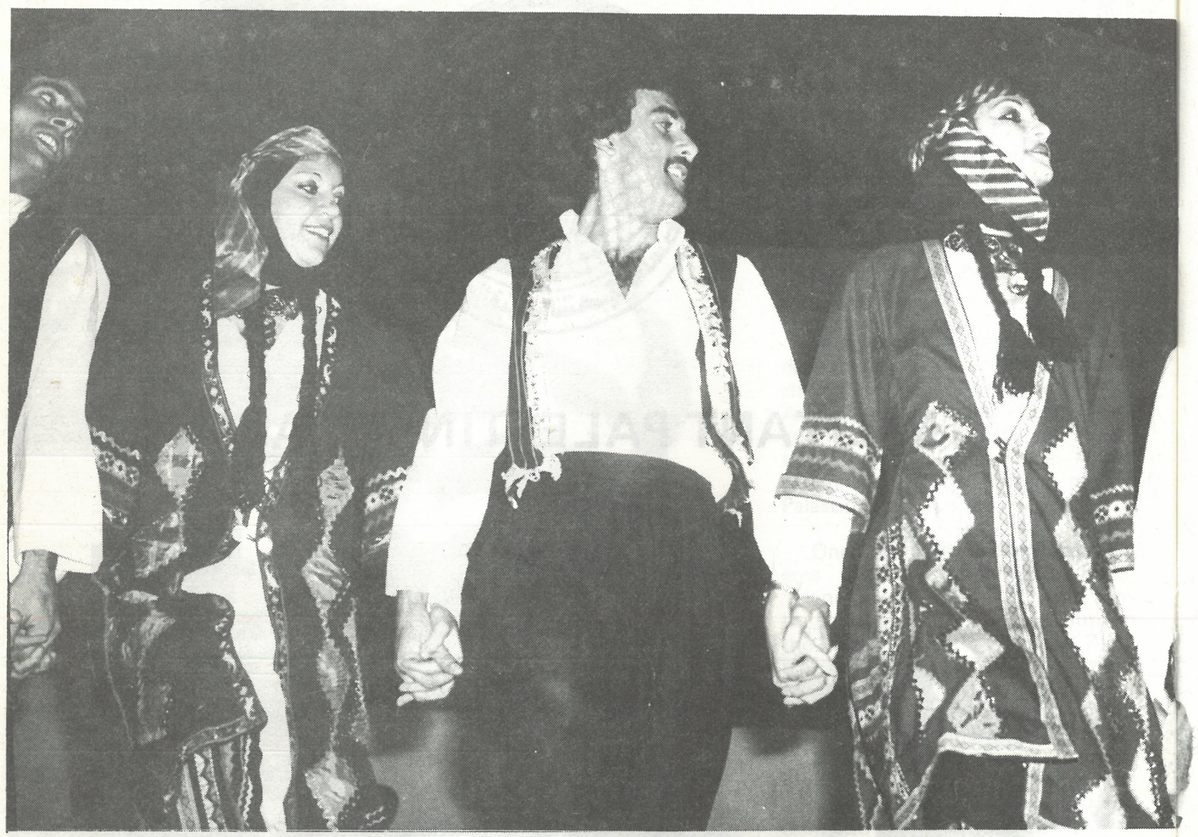
German Democratic Republic. It is the world's biggest festival of documentary films, and lasted from 24 November – 1 December 1978. Delegations from nearly all countries of the world participated. The Palestinian delegation noticed the increasingly political character of the documentary films produced all over the world, and again felt the wave of international solidarity which is being extended to the Palestinian cause. The Palestinian film makers presented several films, among them "Palestinian Vision", directed by Adnan Madanat, which portrays the work of the paralysed Palestinian artist Ibrahim Ghanam (see "Palestine", No 20-21, 1978); "Palestine through the Lens", directed by Mustafa

MILITANT PALESTINIAN ART

The "Association for Theatre and Palestinian Popular Art" was established on 1 January, 1978. Being one of the institutions of the Palestinian Revolution, the Association is committed to its line. Yet, the ways of expressing its activism differ. It is shown through Palestinian culture including song, theatre and dance. *"Palestine"* visited the Association's officials and members, and learnt about its activities in its first year.

"It is worthwhile remembering Chairman Arafat's words," Abu Sadek, the Director of the Association said, "on the inauguration day of our Association: "Our Revolution is not only a gun, for, had it been so, we would have been gunmen. The Palestinian Revolution is also a peasant's plough and a musician's guitar. In fact, we have to emphasize the cultural aspect of our people's struggle, for a people's existence is recognized through their cultural heritage."

"The Association is divided into two branches: that of folklore and dances and the music



and song branch. These also have their extensions. We have traditional folklore, flute-music, and the theatre group sections. Next year, we intend to establish a Palestinian theatre group.

IDEAS BEHIND THE PIECES

"It is worth mentioning that we do not believe in art for art's sake. Our art is committed and dedicated. Commitment and dedication to our cause and Revolution is the cornerstone of our Association, like in any other institution of the Palestinian Revolution.

"Our ideas are those of the Revolution, and the political position we present is that of the Revolution. Our main task is to revive and reestablish our cultural heritage which stands as the source of the ideas we express in our dances and songs. The life of our people in the camps and the occupied land, their struggle and steadfastness are our major sources. No less important are the operations our commandos carry out and the heroic battles our fighters wage against the enemy.

"Take for example the Dalal Mughrabi play. It was inspired by the Kamal Adwan operation carried out in March 1978 by the martyr Dalal Mughrabi and her commando group. We introduced into the play Palestinian peasants ploughing their land, fishermen fishing, and the usurpation of our land as a whole. All these scenes were put together to create the Haifa portrait and the meanings it emphasized. It stressed the facts underlying the operation, and why Dalal, the tranquil girl, was forced to wear a uniform and carry arms.

"Our song 'With bare hands I fight' was inspired by the heroic battles our combatants, together with those of the Lebanese National Movement, fought against the assault launched by the Zionist state last March on South Lebanon. The heroism of the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters, in contrast with the official Arab inactivity, was the background of that song which says:

'With bare hands I fight,
With determination and wounds, I fight,
With either tanks before me, or Migs over my head.
I still fight and defy with my bare hands.

***

Have you ever trusted the wound fighting,
Have you ever trusted the cut arm,
Flowers, grenades, and ears of corn bleeding.
My land mistrusts all.
My land mistrusts the heads which in the mud crawl.'

At Eleventh International Youth Festival, Cuba

RELATIONS WITH OTHER TROUPES

Besides this Association, there are the "Children's Happiness School" troupe, that of the "Children's House of Steadfastness" and others. In addition, there are other troupes operating in the occupied land. However, "all troupes are considered as one troupe serving the same aim."

In this context, it is important to emphasize the activism of our artists in the occupied land. There are dancing and singing groups who never miss a wedding occasion to dance to the tune of our revolutionary songs and sing of the Revolution and the land. Have they not raised the Palestinian flag in their demonstrations and our song, "Biladi, Biladi" — My land, my land? "Though they cannot challenge the enemy by arms, they challenge them with the word, the song, and by performances. We usually receive cassettes of their songs which are extremely useful."

RIGHTS AND LIABILITIES OF MEMBERS

Admittance to any branch of the Association is available to any Palestinian with artistic capabilities. This does not mean that artists of other nationalities are excluded. "We have, for example, members from the Lebanese National Movement. The main condition of membership is commitment to the Palestinian Revolution."

The Association's members have the same rights and responsibilities as their other fellow militants. Most of them have already had their military training to defend themselves against any possible danger. In fact, some of them have had military experience and have only recently joined the Association after being wounded in battles. During the Israeli offensive against

South Lebanon, last March members of the Association took part in defending their Revolution and people.

"Here", Abu Sadek added, "I want to refer tc what a Finnish comrade said after spending two months with us studying Palestinian music. She daid: 'The first day I came here, I met Judi, Hala, and others. At nights, Israeli raids were expected on Palestinian camps. To my surprise, I found them all armed to defend their Association. It is a very unique scene. Delicate youths... spending the day singing and dancing.. at night changing into fighters."

Some of the members are secondary school or university students. Their situation is usually taken into consideration so as to give them a chance for more education, on condition that this does not affect the programs or plans of the Association.

Hala is a 19-year old dancer in the troupe. First she joined the 'Children's Happiness School' in 1968 after her mother's death. She finished her studies there, and joined the Association directly after its establishment. Now she studies business and administration at Beirut University College. The allowance she received from the Association she uses to pay for her study and to support her elderly disabled father. She hopes to be an actress when the Palestinian theatre is established.

Abu Walid is another member of the troupe. He is 40 years old. In the late '50s and early '60s he played the drum at Palestinian and Lebanese weedings in the community.

He was wounded in a battle against the Zionist army in South Lebanon. After his recovery, he was transferred to the Association as a drummer. Abu Walid proudly tells how his eldest son was wounded in another battle while his other son was martyred in the Lebanese civil war defending his people against the rightist militias' attacks.

"FREE MAN OF THE WORLD"

In its one year of existence, the "Association For Theatre And Palestinian Popular Art" has been capable of delivering the meaning behind its dances and songs simply and sincerely in a way that wins the sympathy of the audience and their support and solidarity with our cause.

At the top of the Association's achievements is the participation of its troupe in the Eleventh International Youth Festival in 1978 in Cuba. Their song "Free Men of the World" won the first prize in the political song competition.

The troupe won the sympathy of the Cubans and the youth organizations participating in the Festival. "We made the Cubans feel that we have been delegated to share with the Cuban people the pleasure of our victories. We performed in public places and streets and brought pleasure to the hearts of the onlookers."

Other important visits the troupe made were to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Djibouti. The people of both countries expressed their full sympathy with the troupe and the ideas behind their performances, for they themselves both have had the experience of being colonized and humiliated. The troupe in Djibouti helped to erase the distorted image that the colonizers used to present of the Palestinian people's struggle.

In Djibouti: Former Prime Minister Abdallah Kamel welcomes Palestinian folklore troupe

"PALESTINE" REPORTAGE:

"IS'AD AL-TUFULA" SCHOOL CHILDREN ENTHUSE AMERICAN PUBLIC

At the invitation of the American United Holy Land Fund, the folklore troupe of Is'ad Al-Tufula ("Children's Happiness") School in Soug Al Gharb, Lebanon, toured the USA from 24 August – 6 November 1978 in a series of very successful performances. The children at the school are drawn from sons and daughters of Palestinian martyrs. The troupe visited 17 states and performed in 26 cities, in public halls and at universities, and they met many political and public personalities. The 25 Palestinian youths performed their national folkloric dances while wearing traditional Palestinian dress. It was a good opportunity for the Palestinian and Arab communities in the USA to express their ties to their Arab roots and their solidarity and support for the Arab cause and the PLO.

Likewise the American public, usually misled by fierce Zionist propaganda, gained a better understanding of the Palestinian cause by seeing and hearing the Palestinian youths.

A MESSAGE TO WORLD HUMANITY

The troupe of the Children's Happiness School are not professionals. They are school children who, in addition to studying their academic lessons, learn music, singing and dance as part of their national struggle. These activities serve as means of expressing their longing for their homeland and their relatives there, and call upon world humanity for support and solidarity.

ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK

After a long and exhausting trip, the troupe arrived at New York airport. The children were

At Michegan University,

astonished by the reception given them by airport officials, who meticulously searched them and their luggage. The officials even demanded to know what the orphans learned at their school. "Human and natural sciences, languages, arts, our national culture and cause" answered the children, who protested the discriminatory treatment they were receiving. One of the officials answered: "We know that a ten-year old Palestinian child may explode a plane."

PERFORMANCES IN WASHINGTON

The successful performances the troupe held in Boston and Biltmore in early September made Palestinians, Arabs and American sympathizers in other states eagerly await the time they would meet the Palestinian children. In the evening of September 10 the troupe played its music, sang its songs, and performed its dances in Washington's John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

An excited audience applauded enthusiastically and even joined the troupe on the stage, dancing and singing along with the children. "Revolution Till Victory", and other solidarity slogans were chanted from time to time. Some US citizens of Palestinian and Arab origin could not hide their tears of rejoicing.

The performance was temporarily interrupted due to a Zionist bomb threat made to the police, who then evacuated the hall for a search. However, this attempt to terrify the audience and the night of solidarity with the Palestinian cause had an adverse effect: the compulsory break gave the American people an opportunity to contact the Palestinian children and hold person – to person conversations with them. They were fascinated by their "good and fluent English", as one put it. Following the bomb threat, one girl from the Kennedy Center's staff was astonished to see Ra'ida, a girl member of the troupe, keeping completely cool. When she asked her: "Don't you fear death?", Ra'ida answered: "No, I don't fear death." When the staff member expressed her wonder to the troupe's leader, he told her that Ra'ida had lost her father at the hand of Zionist, six years previously, when she was seven. "She knows that her father was martyred for a just cause. Just as the Zionist bombs did not frighten her father or shake his belief in his just cause, so Ra'ida's belief in her just

cause is stronger than the fear which a bomb usually creates."

COLORADO: THE PALESTINIAN FLAG FLUTTERS HIGH ABOVE THE ZIONIST ONE

Another successful performance of the troupe took place in Denver, Colorado. Invited by the Organisation of Arab Students at Polder University, the troupe paraded in the campus, which provoked the excitement of all the onlookers. But as the parade began and the Pipe Music played, three Zionists provocatively raised a Zionist flag near the parade. However, when the parading troupe passed by the three provocateurs, Fatima Bernawi, a former prisoner of Zionist jails who was holding the Palestinian flag, shouted some Hebrew at them and raised her flag high over the Zionist one. This spectacle, together with the Palestinian music being played and the support of the onlookers, was too much for the Zionists to bear, and they withdrew.

NEW YORK: ZIONIST TERROR FAILS

One of the most important performances was the one held in Embassy Hall in New York. The very fact that it was held in spite of the Zionist "influence" in that city, and despite Zionist attempts to prevent it, was significant. Zionist agents distributed pamphlets urging people not to go see it. Terrorists from the "Jewish Defense League" vainly attempted to force the Hall's manager to break his contract with the United Fund of the Holy Land.

MEETINGS WITH SENATOR JAMES ABOUREZK

During their stay in Washington, the troupe visited the US Congress and paid a visit to Senator James Abourezk. Senator Abourezk is widely known for his firm stand inside and outside the Congress in support of the just Arab and Palestinian cause and against Zionist arrogance and terror. The American Senator welcomed the Palestinian children and told them frankly that he knows his government does not support the Palestinians' rights, but that he and others were trying to change that. Senator Abourezk also accompanied his Palestinian guests on a visit of the Capital building where they attended a session of Congress.

WITH MUHAMMED ALI

The troupe was also lucky to meet Muhammad Ali, the World Boxing Champion, when he was holding a press conference in Chicago. Muhammed Ali has often expressed his support

At Kennedy Center, Washington

With Senator Abourezk

for liberation movements and his sympathy with oppressed people all over the world. The Palestinian youths congratulated Ali on the occasion of his latest victory and offered him a "Koffeya", the Palestinian headdress, on behalf of the troupe and the Palestinian people as a whole.

Muhammad Ali was very pleased with this symbolic present and was photographed with the youths, after which he left them saying: "I hope that the Palestinians will go back to their country."

WITH BLACK AMERICANS

After their performance at Howard University, Washington, the troupe met some Black Americans with whom they discussed the latter's present situation. The Palestinian children also told them about the conditions in which the Palestinian people live and explained to them the real nature of the conflict in the Middle East. The Black Americans expressed their full understanding of the hard conditions of the life and struggle of the Palestinian people and declared their solidarity and support for the Palestinian people and cause.

"THE PALESTINIANS ARE COMING"

As a whole, despite the repeated sabotage attempts of the Zionists and their agents, the Palestinian folklore troupe of Is'ad Al-Tufala achieved their objectives and delivered their message to the American public, who for long have being deceived by Zionist propaganda. This was reflected in the enthusiasm and warmth with which the troupe was received. The Arab and Palestinian community in the US, in particular, rejoiced at seeing Palestinian songs and dances performed on the stages of halls and theaters, a scene which they had never dreamt of. Their gratitude was also expressed in the generous donations they gave to the Sons of Martyrs Organization so that the children can continue their education despite the loss of their fathers, who died defending their people and their just cause.

After watching the performance at the John F. Kennedy Center in Washington, a reviewer wrote: "though the members of the troupe are not professionals, yet the originality and sincerity they expressed in their performances made the viewer feel and suffer as they do."

In its news broadcast of 18 September, Chicago T.V. showed a film clip of a Palestinian dance while it was broadcasting news about the Camp David meeting. In Phoenix, Arizona, the T.V. also showed a cut from another Palestinian dance.

In Houston, Texas, a friendly American journalist welcomed the troupe at the airport fixing a banner on his car that red in Arabic and English: "The Palestinians are coming".

At Embassy Hall in New York, an American girl from the audience went up to the stage, congratulated the troupe, and said: "Now I understaned your cause. I hope your cause will be successful."

Meeting Muhammed Ali, the World Boxing Champion

G.U.P.W.

THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN WORKERS

Chairmanship at 6th G.U.P.W. Congress, Damascus

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1921 a few Palestinian workers appealed for the establishment of a society to help the workers of Palestine. They were followed in 1923 by the Haifa-Qantara railroad workers' movement, until finally in 1925 the British Mandate authorities issued a license for the establishment of the Palestinian Arab Workers' Society.

The vanguard workers carried out the programs of the Society, and founded 50 branches with 89,000 members by 1946. The trade union movement aimed to defend the country and its citizens, to struggle permanently to achieve the social demands of the Arab working class, and to increase Arab salaries to make them equal with those of Jewish workers, who earned higher salaries in British institutions and army bases. In addition, the Society struggled to reduce working hours and to gain benefits from social security and medical insurance. The Society also confronted the British Mandate's policy of opening the door for Jewish immigration into Palestine.

The Palestinian workers joined the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people during the years 1921, 1929, 1936 and 1947. Thousands of martyrs fell from among their ranks. One of their most famous actions was the six-month strike they carried out in 1936.

The Palestinian Arab Workers' Society took part in a congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions held in London in 1945, and explained to the gathered delegates the true situation in Palestine. At the same time, it combatted the attempts of Zionist propaganda to misguide public opinion. One year later, the Society held its second congress in Haifa. This congress was attended by all branches of the Society in Palestine and was covered by the majority of Arab and foreign newspapers.

During the war between the Arabs and Zionists in 1948, following the establishment of the Zionist state on the land of Palestine, the Palestinian workers continued their struggle inside and outside the occupied territories. But by the end of the war, the majority of them had become refugees and were living in the camps of Gaza, the West Bank and the neighboring Arab countries.

PALESTINIAN WORKERS IN THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Although the workers of Palestine had been scattered, they were neither defeated nor dormant. Palestinian workers resumed their organizational activities in 1963. Trade union cadres began holding underground preparatory meetings and making contacts in Gaza and Cairo with the aim of rebuilding the Palestinian trade union movement. A preparatory committee held the first congress of the General Union of Palestinian Workers in Gaza in 1965, where they endorsed the constitution and established branches in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Gaza, Kuwait, West Germany, Libya, Sweden, Denmark and (later on) Belgium.

The G.U.P.W. has a major role to play in the Palestinian Revolution. At the same time the G.U.P.W. has taken honorable stands in its resistance to Israeli occupation in all its aspects. The G.U.P.W. gained membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1969, and has also become a member of the Arab Labor Organization.

One of the international successes of the G.U.P.W. is the major role it played in two congresses of world trade unions held in Sofia in 1971, and Karl Marx City (G.D.R.) in 1976. These congresses expressed solidarity with the workers and people of Palestine. Both of them endorsed the right of the Palestinians to establish their independent democratic state of Palestine, the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle, and the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

THE SIXTH GENERAL CONGRESS

The G.U.P.W. held its Sixth General Congress in Damascus on November 20-24, 1978. Delegations representing nearly all G.U.P.W. branches from around the world attended the Congress. The delegates began their activities on the morning of 20 November by paying a visit to the martyrs' cemetery near the Yarmouk refugee camp in the suburbs of Damascus. They were accompanied by more than 75 foreign delegates who came from around the globe.

The General Secretary announced the start of the first session of the Congress and introduced Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, as the first speaker to address the gathering. Chairman Arafat stressed in his speech the good relations between the PLO and those Arab states belonging to the Confrontation and Steadfastness Front, the positive decisions of the Baghdad summit. He denounced the imperialist campaign against the PLO and the Arab nation launched by the US, Zionism and their reactionary agents in the area.

At the second session, held during the afternoon of the same day, the foreign delegations began addressing the Congress. They expressed their militant solidarity with the workers and people of Palestine, their fraternal and comradely relationship with the Palestinian working classes, and their full support for the Palestinian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination and establish the independent state of Palestine. The majority of them condemned the Sadat regime and its internal and external politicies, including Sadat's signing of the Camp David agreements, suppression of the

Audience at 6th G.U.P.W. Congress

Egyptian working classes, and collaboration with imperialist forces against progressive and national liberation movements in Africa and Asia. Many of the delegates, especially the representatives of the socialist countries, demonstrated for the Congress the great socialist achievements being realized by the working classes of their countries, which are improving the welfare of the workers. At the same time the delegations representing the working classes of the capitalist countries announced their determination to continue their struggle against the capitalist system, to defend the rights of the working class, and to continue their advance in order to build socialist societies.

A WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT

Delegations from Third World countries which are simultaneously fighting on two fronts, the internal front of class conflict, and the external front against national enemies, emphasized the importance of well-coordinated work among all national liberation movements and their working classes. In this way, these delegates said, all may stand in the same trench in opposition to the enemy camp's strategems and maneuvers.

The countries, trade unions and labor organizations which were represented at the Sixth Congress were as follows:

– All the socialist countries
– All the established Arab trade unions, save those of Sudan, Egypt and Tunisia
– West Europe: Italy, CGT France, CFDT France, Norway, Cyprus, Greece, Spain, Portugal
– Latin America: Chile
– Asia: India, Pakistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Turkey
– Africa: Eritrea, Guineau-Bissau, Benin, Upper Volta, Malagasy Republic
– International Federations and Organizations: The World Federation of Public Service, The International Arab Trade Unions, The World Federation of Trade Unions, the Arab Labor Organization, The Arab Union of Food Industries, The World Federation of Chemicals.

THE PROGRAM

At the close of the G.U.P.W.'s Sixth General Congress, the members elected Fathi Raghib once again as the General Secretary of the G.U.P.W. Then the Congress issued a final political statement, whose major points are as follows:

– On the Palestinian level, the final statement called for unlimited and absolute support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, for the support and reinforcement of our people in the occupied territories, and for the rejection of the Camp David accords.

– On the Arab level, the final statement called for full support for the revival of the Eastern Front against the Zionist enemy, as decided at the Baghdad Summit, for support for the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, and for support for the Egyptian people under the leadership of their national progressive movement. The Congress also praised the struggle of the struggle of the Lebanese people under the leadership of their progressive movement.

– On the international level, the Congress called for the reinforcement of the strategic coalition with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. It transmitted its greetings to the World Federation of Trade Unions, and expressed its support for the Iranian people's mass revolution, and the struggle of all African peoples for national independence and progress.

The General Secretary held many meetings with the friendly participating delegations, and agreed to exchange visits and trade union activities with them. It was agreed with CGT of France to have a Solidarity Week campaign to express support for the struggle of the Palestinian people. The solidarity week will begin on 12 December 1978.

This Congress is considered to be the most successful one the G.U.P.W. has ever held, because of the decisions it reached, and because of the considerable numbers of foreign trade union delegations that took part. Especially noted was the attendance of the Norwegian trade union delegation, which was present for the first time despite Zionist propaganda in Norway and Zionist domination of the policies of Scandanavian countries.

G.U.P.T.:

PALESTINIAN TEACHERS INTENSIFY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Teachers constitute a large and influential sector of the Palestinian people. There are presently about 63,000 of them among Palestinian communities and in the Arab countries.

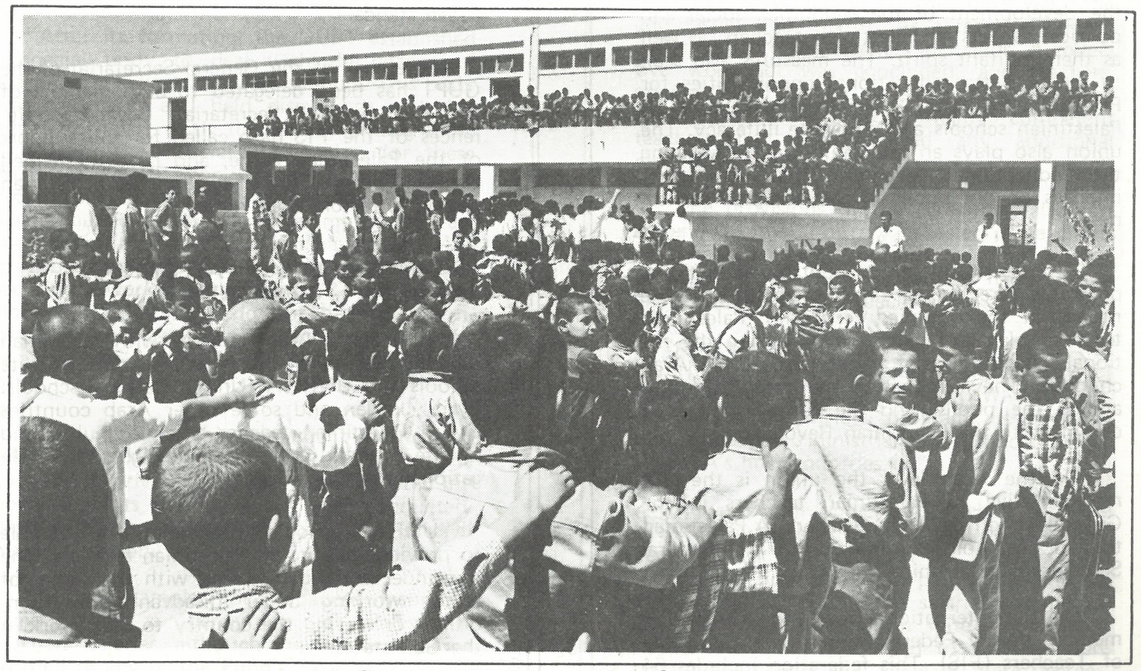
To protect the unity and interests of this sector, the General Union of Palestinian Teachers was formed in 1969, and it now has 15 regional branches.

The GUPT endeavors to protect its members morally, materially and politically. It also seeks to develop a spirit of collaboration and collective effort, and strengthen the professional as well as political consciousness of its members.

Recently a member of the General Secretariat of the GUPT, Abu Issam, talked to **"Palestine"** about the union and its activities. Excerpts from his conversation with us follow.

"Our union is a popular institution of the Palestinian Revolution. The teachers work in different countries, and this demands that the union plays both a political and professional role on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels.

"On the Palestinian level, the union seeks to strengthen national unity in its ranks. The Executive Committee of the Lebanese branch,



Palestinian UNWRA school at Madaba, Jordan

Eliminating illiteracy

for example, consists of members of Fateh, PFLP, Sa'iqa and DFLP. The measures usually adopted by the union take into consideration the development of the economic, social and political aspects of Palestinian teachers, as well as their militant spirit. The measures also seek to secure better educational opportunities for Palestinian children, enhance the quality of Palestinian schools and eliminate illiteracy. The union also plays an important role in resisting the "educational" programs that the enemy imposes on our pupils in the occupied territories.

"At present our union controls educational programs directed in radio braodcasts at the masses in the occupied territories. Palestinian teachers play a major role in raising the national consciousness of Palestinian and all Arab children. They emphasize the sense of unity among the pupils, and the contribution they can make to the Palestinian Revolution.

"On the Arab level the union is the sole representative of Palestinian teachers in the General Union of Arab Teachers. A Palestinian teacher now holds the position of Vice-General Secretary of that union.

"On the international level, the Union is a member of the Federal International Syndicate of Teachers (FIS). This federation includes 64 social syndicates and unions from all over the world. The GUPT has been able to have three members expelled from the FIS for their pro-Israeli stands.

A member of the General Secretariat of the GUPT has been delegated to be a member of the FIS General Secretariat. Several conferences of the FIS have called for full support of the Palestinian cause, and have reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people to restore their rights.

TEACHERS IN PALESTINIAN COMMUNITIES

"Teachers in Arab countries with Palestinian communities work in public schools, private schools and UNRWA (United Nations) schools. Syria, Jordan and some other Arab countries give a Palestinian teacher a job in public and private schools with the same rights and obligations as native citizens.

"UNRWA schools in Lebanon are not able to provide jobs for all Palestinian teachers. The remainder are usually faced with the choice of either working under disadvantageous conditions or leaving the country to seek work in the Gulf states.

EXPLOITATION OF PALESTINIAN TEACHERS

"For the purpose of working in Lebanon, Palestinians are officially considered foreigners. For a time, Palestinians who wanted to be employed in a private school needed a license from the Lebanese Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and the license had to be renewed annually. But the fact that the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Fine Arts does not allow more than two foreign teachers to work at an individual school made Palestinian teachers victims of exploitation by their employers. For example, the owner of a school would not sign a contract with a Palestinian teacher unless the latter agreed to work for less than his entitled salary. Sometimes Palestinian teachers had to agree to forfeit the money they should have gotten during summer vacation! And if a wronged teacher later on tried to challenge these arrangements on legal grounds, he would be threatened with the prospect of not having his contract renewed for the following year. It is not easy for him to find another job in such circumstances, for the license a teacher usually got only entitled him to work in one particular, designated school.

"Even worse was the situation of teachers who were not given a license at all. They had to submit to complete exploitation, and work under the constant threat of dismissal by their employers.

"After its formation, the GUPT established a special body to deal with the affairs of teachers in Lebanese private schools. This body made contacts and held discussions with Lebanese officials, with the aim of ending these injustices. The official justification for these measures was that they treated foreigners on a reciprocal, government-to-government basis. The discussions resulted in exempting at least these Palestinian teachers who have been living in Lebanon since 1948 from the necessity of securing a work license. The GUPT argued that since the Palestinians do not have a government of their own, it was unjust that they be required to submit to such arbitrary conditions.

"But although this agreement normalized relations between Palestinian teachers and the owners of private schools, there are still important points that have not been adequately dealt with, also due to the recent years of civil war in Lebanon.

"As an example, the Lebanese Insurance Fund takes a percentage of Palestinian teachers' salaries, although the teachers are not entitled to any of the Fund's benefits.

"Second, the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Fine Arts prohibits Palestinian teachers from teaching the Arab language and social sciences, a procedure that limits employment opportunities for them. Considering that this measure is applied only to Palestinian "foreigners", some observers interpret it as being meant to prevent Palestinians from interfering in these two real and vital fields of national mobilization.

UNRWA SCHOOLTEACHERS

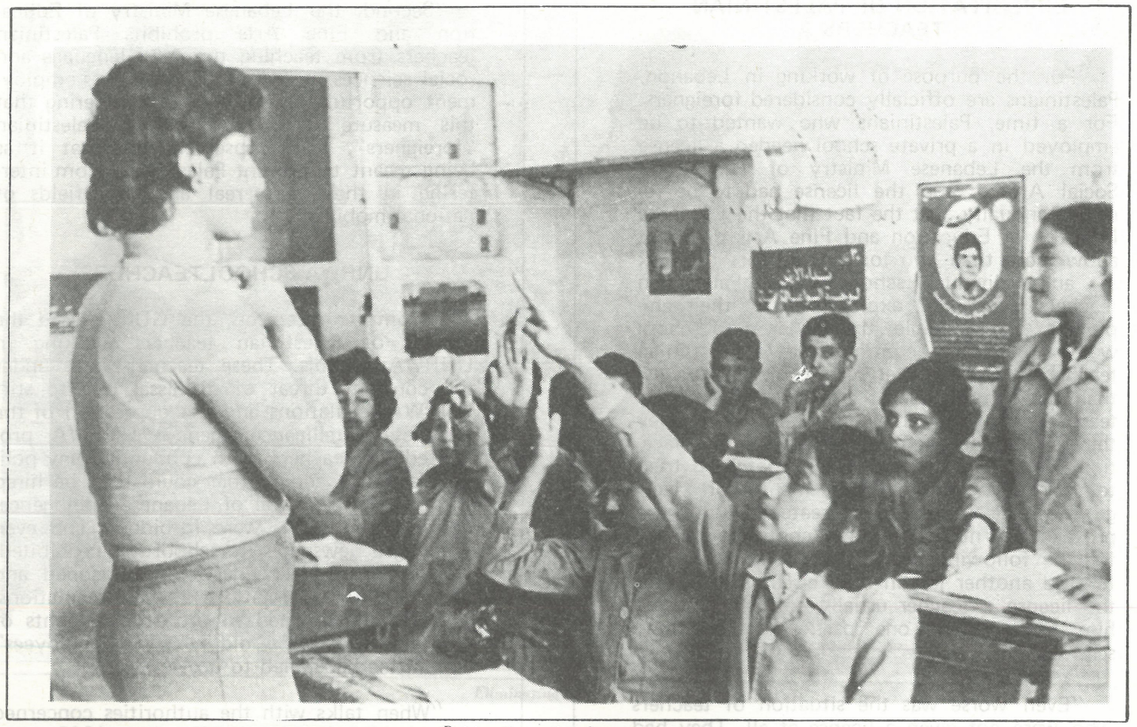
"From its inception, the GUPT raised the morale of Palestinian teachers working in UNRWA schools. These teachers were under the constant threat of dismissal due to stiff UNRWA regulations and the oppression of the Lebanese intelligence agency. UNRWA prohibited the teachers from conducting any political activity, and neither could they be hired without the approval of Lebanese intelligence. Political discussions were forbidden, and even bringing a newspaper to school was prohibited. In fact, many teachers were imprisoned and dismissed due to violations of these regulations. The GUPT struggled to protect the rights of teachers, which the old UNRWA employees' committee had failed to do.

"When talks with the authorities concerned came to naught, the GUPT in late 1969 called for a general strike that included all UNRWA schools in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The strike was total and lasted one month. As a result, UNRWA surrendered to the teachers' demands. A collective work act was concluded, and teachers' salaries came to be based on the teachers' qualifications. Heretofore highly competent teachers had not received any additional money for their skills.

"The provisions of the agreement also put an end to the arbitrary transfer of teachers, which could involve transfers to other districts at short notice. Such procedures had demoralizing effects on both teachers and students.

"Another accomplishment of the GUPT was that it enabled the geography and history of Palestine to be taught in UNRWA schools, along with the official programs designed by the respective Ministries of Education of UNRWA's host countries.

"However, the agreement reached with the UNRWA authorities did not end all the injustices the teachers complain of. Teachers with degrees in commerce, law, philosophy and sociology still do not receive salaries commensurate with their training. In spite of the many studies the union presented to UNRWA concerning the educational value of these degrees,



Raising the national consciousness

UNRWA still insists that they are only partly educational.

"The GUPT now plays a significant role in the UNRWA Arab Workers' Conference. The conference has a proportional representation of four teachers, three workers and two employees, who are neither teachers nor workers. This representation gives GUPT an effective role to play on the professional and political levels in the conference.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

"After being informed of UNRWA's recent decision to transfer its headquarters from Beirut to Vienna, the GUPT exerted all its efforts to prevent the move. However, the transfer occurred anyway. We fear that some measures against Palestinian teachers and the Palestinian people are on the way, because the transfer of the headquarters to such a far-away place cannot have good intentions behind it. We are already beginning to see evidence of this. UNRWA has decided to decrease the rations it offers to Palestinian families. Our schools now suffer from a deficiency of books, stationery and teachers. Communication with UNRWA headquarters now takes a long time.

"UNRWA has also declared its intention to end its responsibility for intermediate cycle classes, a move which will deprive thousands of our pupils of the chance for an intermediate education, in addition to leaving hundreds of teachers jobless.

"For these reasons, the GUPT has called for a symbolic strike. It began on 29 November 1978, the International Day of Solidarity with Palestine, and is still continuing. We began striking for one hour on a certain day of the week, and the number of hours is to be doubled and tripled until the end of December. If UNRWA does not reverse its new policies, we will declare a full strike.

"UNRWA's Lebanon office has sent messages to schools and headmasters demanding the names of teachers participating in the symbolic strike, and has threatened to take disciplinary measures against them. Yet this strike is being observed in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and even in the occupied West Band and Gaza. We will continue this strike to bring a halt to these measures against our people."

THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN DOCTORS AND PHARMACISTS

Dr. Fathi Arafat, Chairman of the General Union of Palestinian Doctors and Pharmacists, gave the following account of the Union's work to **Palestine:**

"The General Union of Palestinian Doctors and Pharmacists was established in 1969. Its first congress was held in Cairo and was attended by Palestinian doctors and pharmacists from all the Arab countries, as well as from Europe and America. The union comprises more than 10,000 doctors and pharmacists, including dentists and veterinarians as well, and represents a huge medical potential. It also cooperates with the General Union of Palestinian Nurses.

"We have branches in all countries where there are Palestinian doctors. In any country where there are at least 25 Palestinian doctors and pharmacists they may form a branch and join the General Union.

"Every two years we have a conference, during which we discuss our achievements and projects, and also elect the new secretariat.

"Our activities on the Palestinian level concentrate on the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, in order to avoid a dual commitment on our part. We aim to promote our doctors, as one of the professional elements within the Palestinian population, and promote their achievements on the Arab and international levels.

"Our General Union also maintains relations with all doctors' groups abroad, and in particular with those working in the occupied territories.

"On the Arab level, our Union is an important member of the Union of Arab Doctors, whose foundation in 1969 we actively supported. At the recent General Congress of the Union of Arab Doctors we reached a decision in support of the Palestinian Revolution and the Palestinian Red Crescent Society. The Congress also denounced the conspiracies of Camp David and the "self-rule" project set forth in the Camp David agreements. When the new General Secretariat was formed, I was elected one of the General Secretary's deputies.

"During the last congress of the Arab Dentists' Union, we in the General Union acquired the post of Assistant General Secretary. Dr. Abdul Aziz Al Hajj Mroweh, who was deported from Occupied Palestine, was elected to this post.

"During the war in Lebanon, our cadres working with the Palestinian Red Crescent Society contributed a great deal. They treated tens of thousands of injured people. They offered us the experience of treatment, as well as the ability to plan for the future. We got experience in receiving field casualties, dangerous cases and collective cases, and we were able to develop our medical systems.

"On the fourteenth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, I would like to address all Palestinian doctors and pharmacists around the world. I call on them to join the General Union of Palestinian Doctors and pharmacists in order to effectively participate in liberating our homeland, and to promote the civilizational medical aspect of the Palestinian doctor, the Palestinian citizen and Palestinian society.

"The PLO has a deep interest in promoting medical education and extending health services to the Palestinian people, and also achieved great successes in these fields, but the only solution to our medical problems lies in our return to our homeland where we can promote our medical cadres, and establish our medical schools, colleges and hospitals."

Dr. Fathi Arafat, with Dr. Lariviere, head of the Franco-Palestinian Medical Association, and late PLO representative Ezzedine Kalak in Paris.

THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN ENGINEERS

The General Union of Palestinian Engineers was founded in November 1973 in Baghdad. The founders agreed that occupied Jerusalem should be the union's permanent headquarters, with Baghdad serving as a temporary headquarters until moving to Jerusalem becomes possible.

Today the union has some 25,000 members, and is viewed as a means of consolidating the material, moral and scientific capacities of Palestinian Revolution. The General Union, like all other Palestinian unions, contributes to the Revolution's goal of liberating all of the land of Palestine. And like other Palestinian unions, the General Union is considered to be one of the bases of the Palestinian Revolution, as well as being a professional association.

The union joined the Union of Arab Engineers in 1974 and became a member of the World Federation of Engineers Organization in 1975. In addition, the General Union of Palestinian Engineers is an acting member of the World Federation of Unions.

The union's general conference, which is held every two years and is attended by all the union's branches, constitutes the union's highest legislative authority. The conference elects the members of the Executive Bureau. The head of the Executive Bureau is also the union's chairman.

THE UNION'S PROGRAM

The third article of the union's constitution commits the union to the following targets:

1. Raising the social and moral standard of Palestinian engineers, as well as increasing their scientific and technical qualifications.
2. Raising the standard of engineering as a profession, in order to meet the demands of economic and social development in the Arab countries and the developing world.
3. Consolidating Palestinian engineering capacities, assisting in securing jobs for union members and defending their interests.
4. Offering academic scholarships and courses in Arab countries and friendly foreign countries to raise the qualifications of Palestinian engineers.
5. Encouraging scientific research and Palestinian participation in international scientific conferences.
6. Serving the objectives of the Palestinian Revolution through productive projects.
7. Guaranteeing social security for Palestinian engineers through a fund established for this purpose.

THE UNION'S FIELD ACTIVITIES

The union helps to develop the capacities of the Palestinian people, enabling them to resist Israeli attacks and air raids. Union members play a major role in the installation of bomb shelters, electrical and sewage systems, and other projects vital to the needs of Palestinian camps and Lebanese villages.

A group of Palestinian engineers is decicated to develop Palestinian fighting potential and reinforcing the Palestinian Revolution in its confrontation with Israeli aggression.

The union has members working in brotherly Arab and developing countries, and these thousands of Palestinian engineers participate in the development of agriculture and industry in these countries.

The General Union of Palestinian Engineers participates in scientific forums and presents the fruits of its own research and studies. The union tries to reinforce its bonds with Arab and foreign unions through mutual cooperation and exchange of experiences.

The union is trying to establish an institution of engineering studies to utilize science and technology in the service of the Palestinian cause.

The General Union of Palestinian Engineers, which rallies Palestinian engineers in exile, realizes the difficulties engineers face due to the Zionist occupation of Palestine. The union's slogan says: "With the gun and with science, the Palestinian Revolution continues until victory."

Rally of Organization of Arab Students in U.S.A. on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, in protest of Israeli invasion of South Lebanon in spring 1978.

G.U.P.S.: PALESTINIAN STUDENTS SHOULDER THEIR REVOLUTIONARY TASKS

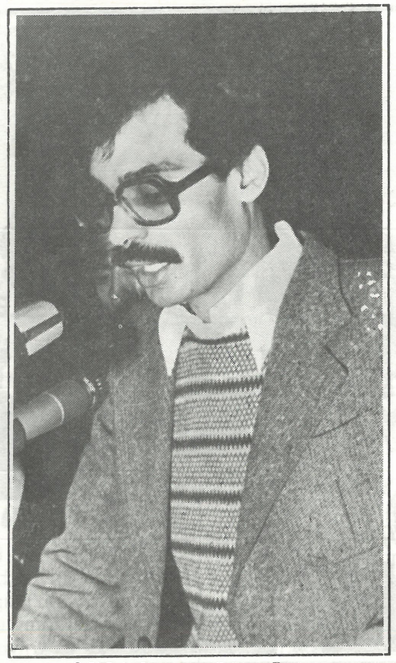
YOUTH AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

An interesting feature of colonial oppression is its relative simplicity and straightforwardness, especially in the eyes of the oppressed. Whereas with economic or class exploitation an illusion of prosperity, equality and political liberty may exist, however hard a colonial power might try, it rarely succeeds in convincing a subjected people that they are free. All aspects of that people's life are geared to the interests of the colonizer, be they economic, political, cultural or social. Thus where it might take years or decades for a proletariat or peasantry to comprehend and react against its oppression, a people denied their national rights can easily understand the causes and nature of their misery.

National oppression rarely discriminates between men or women, rich or poor, young or old. The ensuing national liberation struggle concerns and usually involves, in one way or another, the whole people. The younger, more active segments of the population, with far greater access to education than preceding generations, thus come to play an increasingly important role in that struggle. The Palestinian national liberation movement is no exception to this aspect of the dynamics of social change characteristic of revolutionary and progressive movements throughout the world.

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

Like the youth of other Third World peoples under colonial domination, the youth of Palestine have shared with their compatriots the experience of denial of national rights. The peculiarities of Pales-



G.U.P.S. President Sakher Bseisso

tine's tragedy are well known: exile of some two-thirds of its people, statelessness, indiscriminate terrorism and the destruction of the infrastructure of traditional society. Despite poor educational facilities either in Israeli schools that neglect their national history, culture and existence, or in United Nations refugee camp schools that suffer from the same and other deficiencies. The Palestinians are proud of the fact that they have the highest percentage of university graduates throughout the Arab world.

Alongside the struggle to return to their homeland, all Palestinians, be they from refugee camps or the more prosperous parts of Middle East society, consider securing an education for their children as the most valued of aims. The development of national political consciousness has been accompanied by the general modernisation of social and cultural relations and precepts, unparallelled in most of the Arab countries. Though this trend of struggle and education existed since the conflict with Zionism began to erupt, it was not formalised and translated into its present stature as a cornerstone of Palestinian revolutionary strategy until the birth of the armed Resistance in the 1960s.

BIRTH OF THE PALESTINIAN STUDENTS MOVEMENT

But even before that, in the wake of the defeat of 1948, the more aware and frustrated elements of Palestinian students in Arab universities had begun to create the first manifestations of independent Palestinian political activity. Students in Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese universities had established a number of Palestinian Student Leagues. It was the first of these in Cairo, under the presidency of the present PLO Chairman, Yasser Arafat, that gained recognition from university and Arab League authorities as the legitimate representative of Palestinian students.

The Cairo League went in to represent Palestine for the first time since 1948 in a number of international student festivals and conferences, including one in Moscow in which Arafat and Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad) participated. In the pre-1956 period, the League helped to organize military units that took part in the guerrilla raids upon Israel from Gaza and Sinai. As the Palestinian student movement grew, contacts and coordination developed between the different Leagues, some of which, notably the Beirut and Damascus ones, faced harsh repression from the local authorities. These relations culminated in the holding of a conference in Cairo in 1959, representing all the existing Leagues, which announced the founding of the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS). It was soon accepted as a full member in the International Union Students. In those early years, the students of Palestine had taken the first vital steps in the direction of their people's complete self-determination and independence.

THE RISE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

With the beginning of the Palestinian armed struggle in 1965, the focus of GUPS's activity and role was complete support for that new movement. As one of the few non-military Palestinian popular organisations at that time, GUPS joined in with the newly formed guerrilla groups in calling for the transformation of the Palestine Liberation Organization from its status then as a tool in the hands of the Arab regimes into an independent Palestinian national front. By 1968, with the discrediting of the regimes and the subsequent upsurge in mass support for the Resistance Movement, the P.L.O. had come under the leadership of the different guerrilla groups. GUPS obtained representation within the P.L.O. and encourage the proliferation of union activity throughout Palestinian refugee camps, thus helping to establish workers', womens', writers' and other professional and trade unions, all under the umbrella of the P.L.O.

In the 19 years since its inception, GUPS has established branches in twentynine countries throughout the world and including tens of thousands of Palestinian students from all backgrounds and all political persuasions. The highest authority in GUPS is the bi-annual National Conference, including representatives of all the branches. Seven such conferences have already been held, the last in 1974, and the next conference, delayed by the war in Lebanon, is due to be held in the coming months. The Conference spells out GUPS's political position and elects an Administrative Council of twenty-seven members, which in turn elects the Executive Committee, responsible for all GUPS affairs in between the sessions of the Administrative Council, held every six months. Each branch holds an annual conference which elects an Administrative Committee as well as representatives to the National Conference. Though all Palestinian political forces participate in GUPS on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and democratic political struggle, since 1969 the Union has been under the leadership of Fateh in alliance with the PFLP. Most branches, though, are led by coalitions of all the different Palestinian groups.

THE ROLE OF GUPS WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

Both in principle and practice, GUPS has actively adhered to the slogan it put forward with the rise of the Resistance: "GUPS, A Base of The Palestinian Revolution". This relation between GUPS and the Resistance is expressed on a number of levels, from the official links between GUPS and the P.L.O., to the implicit support that GUPS activities among the Palestinian masses and internationally provides for the Revolution. This relation is based not only upon the commitment of GUPS and Palestinian youth in general to their Revolution, but also upon the realization throughout the ranks of the Resistance of the vital role that young, educated and politically experienced and aware Palestinians have played and will continue to play in the development of the Revolution.

Despite these close ties, GUPS is neither a P.L.O. 'front', nor its student organisation. Because of the fact that its history precedes that of the P.L.O., and precisely because it is a student **union**, not a political party or military organisation, GUPS maintains its independent status as a mass organisation operating with the Palestinian revolutionary arena, and specifically within the P.L.O. This is not out of any reluctance to identify itself politically or organisationally with the P.L.O., on the contrary, it has always regarded the P.L.O., at least since the 1968, as the sole legitimate representative of the whole Palestinian People. Similarly, it has always been eager to deepen its involvement in the P.L.O., but GUPS, along with other Palestinian popular organisations, has come to learn that the wealth of a revolution, and the correctness of its political line and actions depends on the extent of its involvement with the masses it represents and in whose name it fights.

GUPS INTERNATIONALLY AND WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN ARENA

In the West, GUPS is best known for its role as a representative and information source for Palestine. Through relations built with the GUPS branches, numerous international parties, organisations or individuals have become active in their countries explaining and defending the Palestinian cause to their compatriots. Such friends have also provided vital assistance and support to the Palestinian people in times of need (eg. medical and other relief during the Lebanese Civil War and during the recent Israeli invasion of South Lebanon) Palestinian students have benefited from many scholarships at universities abroad, especially in Socialist countries.

Not only have youth around the world been attracted to solidarity work for Palestine, but Palestinian students have had, through these contacts, the important chance to develop and broaden their own political and social outlooks, helping to take the internationalisation of revolutionary activity one step further. Thus, for example, a Palestinian who has worked side by side with Israeli or Jewish anti-Zionists, can return home and convey the relevance of such an experience to his comrades who have never had a chance to deal with Israelis, except perhaps as their enemies. Only years of this and still deeper forms of contact and cooperation will make the principle of joint Arab-Jewish anti-Zionist mass struggle a reality.

As already indicated, GUPS has, ever since its foundation, centered its activities on reaching the widest possible segment of Palestinian students in order to provide them with a framework through which they could serve their people and cause. Be it through participating in social welfare projects, conducting information and political education programmes among Palestinians and Arabs, disseminating information about Palestine internationally, or representing Palestine in conferences, forums and debates, those students not otherwise involved in the Revolution have been able to contribute something through their work within GUPS. For many Palestinians, their union activity has been an important step forwards deeper commitment to the Revolution.

ARMED STRUGGLE

It is the fate of the Palestinians that ultimately, they cannot hope to return to their homeland and regain their rights without being willing to fight and if necessary, die, in the process. It is unfortunate because of the tens of thousands of Palestinian men, women and children who have already given their lives and the others that will undoubtedly die before justice is achieved, hopefully sooner than later. It is the Palestinians' fate because they have long ago learned that armed struggle must be the basis of their liberation movement. Just as GUPS supported the rise of the armed Resistance in the 1960s, so it also proved willing and capable of actively contributing to the defence of the Revolution at all critical stages in its turbulent history. Either through the participation of its branches in the fighting in Jordan in 1970-71 and in Lebanon in 1975-76 (in which some 3,000 students participated), or else through the worldwide mobilization of Palestinian students outside those countries on the same occasions, GUPS has played a part in building the military capabilities and reserve potential of the Revolution. Though not a military organisation itself, GUPS has provided, through its

Solidarity poster of the General Union of Palestinian Students in Canada

links with the P.L.O., the necessary bridge between the armed Resistance and those students who, despite not being members of any of the guerrilla organisations, feel it their duty to fight in defence of their people when called upon.

POLITICAL ROLE

Perhaps the most significant role GUPS fulfills today is that of representing the political position of Palestinian students. Within the P.L.O., GUPS has seven seats in the Palestinian National Council and one seat in the much smaller Central Council. This gives GUPS the chance to present and elaborate its stand on all affairs concerning the P.L.O. and the Palestinian people. This political role is not limited to its official position within the P.L.O.

An example of the political role GUPS has played can be found in the widespread popular discussion after the October 1973 War in which the question of the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza was hotly debated. In the light of the change in the balance of power in the region following the war, many Palestinian circles proposed that it would be the responsibility of the Palestinian people to assert their sovereignty over any part of Palestine liberated from Israeli occupation by force of arms or otherwise.

It was GUPS's position throughout this debate, as recorded in the decisions of the last National Conference, that the establishment of an independent Palestinian state could be possible, within the long term Palestinian strategy of establishing a secular democratic state throughout Palestine, only if a much greater change in the balance of power occurred than that resulting from the October War. The final position settled upon by the Palestinian National Council was to a great extent a compromise between that of GUPS and that of those sectors of the Resistance which contemplated arriving at some sort of compromise with Zionism involving negotiations, recognition and peace with Israel as it exists today. Secondly, the GUPS analysis of 1974 has been borne out to be fairly accurate insofar as the Palestinians are still faced with the same Israeli obstinacy, arrogance and intransigence that characterised its position before 1973.

The right of the Palestinian people, like any other people, to self-determination, is a right of whose implications and responsibilities the Palestinians and their representative the P.L.O. are well aware. Having striven over the years to present the outlines of what it considers to be a just solution for the Arabs and Jews of Palestine, the P.L.O. has also worked to build among its own people the traditions, political values and beliefs that are necessary to reach the goal of secularism and democracy in Palestine. Thus it can be said that if GUPS and its sister Palestinian organisations and institutions have done nothing else, then at least they have helped to set down in principle and practice the bare essentials of any democratic future for Palestine and its inhabitants, indeed for the area. As a contribution towards peace and justice in the area, this experience of Palestine's students in democratic and free organisation and activity, together with people of different nationalities, creeds, and religions, GUPS work has been invaluable.

Written by:
THE GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINE STUDENTS – U.K. AND IRELAND BRANCH, SEPTEMBER 1978.

PALESTINIAN WOMEN TAKE THE INITIATIVE

The participation of Palestinian women in the national liberation struggle has deeply affected the structures of Arab Palestinian society. In the 1920s, Palestinian women embarked on their activist role by taking an active part in the popular uprisings against the British Mandate and the launching of the Zionist colonisation project. That already considerably shock the foundations of traditional Palestinian society.

The decisive step in the course of Palestinian women's emancipation was undoubtedly the inauguration of the armed struggle in 1965. It was from that time that the need to establish the General Union of Palestinian Women to unify all the women's organisations then existing, became apparent. The Union bases itself on the principle that the liberation of Palestinian women will only be achieved through their full participation in national liberation. Thus Palestinian women place their abilities and their specialised skills at the disposal of the whole Palestinian people's struggle to free their occupied homeland.

Following the June 1967 war and the bloody events in Jordan, the Union transferred its headquarters to Beirut. It has since established branches in the various Arab countries where there are Palestinian population concentrations. It is also active in the occupied territories, although there it is compelled to operate underground.

NO "WOMEN'S LIB" WITHOUT SOCIAL LIBERATION

Umm Rim, the mother of a family and an employee of the Palestine Research Centre, is also a GUPW activist. She told us about the situation of Palestinian women and various aspects of their struggle in the present phase:

"It's not a question now of drawing up a programme, in the strict meaning of the term,

for the social liberation of women. We consider that the present phase of our struggle is expressed by our full participation in the liberation of Palestine. Our movement is not directed against suppression by men as such, since they also are faced with the same injustices: Zionist occupation and oppression.

"However, women's emancipation as we envisage it in the framework of a liberated Palestine is something that can only be achieved in socialist structures in which the rights of individuals, men and women, are respected. In the capitalist countries, women are an exploited element, particularly at the working-class level. We are witnessing a lively debate in capitalist societies on possible forms of struggle to recover women's rights. This expresses the complexity of the problem.

"In the case of peoples fighting a foreign enemy, the national liberation movement always includes the question of women's emancipation in its programme of struggle. In Eritrea the problems of the wife's dowry and of polygamy were raised. In Vietnam, decisions were and still are taken in such a way as always to allow greater intergration of women in the process of liberation. We have seen Vietnamese women carrying rifles and fighting beside the men. It was only as competent and dedicated activists that they were able to win their rights.

"Palestinian women bear considerable responsibilities at this stage of our national liberation struggle. Many of our women combatants have been killed in action against Zionist occupation or Arab reactionary forces. As far as social and political activities are concerned, GUPW has established a work programme geared to the precarious living conditions of exiled Palestinians. From this angle, our activities are centred on looking after the children of martyrs and the families of detainees. For instance, we have founded the "Children's House of Steadfastness" for the sons of people killed at Tal Al Zaatar.

FIGHTING MALNUTRITION AND ILLITERACY

"With the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinian people and their dispersion in the neighbouring Arab countries, urgent problems arose which GUPW has tried to solve, such as:

— Lack of hygiene in refugee camps and malnutrition among children;
— Mothers' ignorance of preventive medicine;
— Illiteracy.

We contact the mothers to try to solve these problems jointly with them. With their consent and even their participation, we have given courses on hygiene and bringing up children, starting off with illnesses that are common in the camps such as children's skin and eye infections. To guard the inhabitants of the camps against epidemics and contagious diseases, we have managed to convince the mothers of the need for vaccination.

"To reduce the illiteracy figures among the women in the camps, we have undertaken a literacy campaign. The experiment has fortunately been a success, which has encouraged us to step up our activities in this field.

"On the other hand, we know that Palestinian refugee camps are constantly subjected to Zionist air raids. The inhabitants of the camps are forced to take refuge in shelters, which are often piled up with rubbish. So we've set up regional committees to explain to the women that this situation is a danger to health. Together with them, we have carried out campaigns to clean and disinfect the shelters.

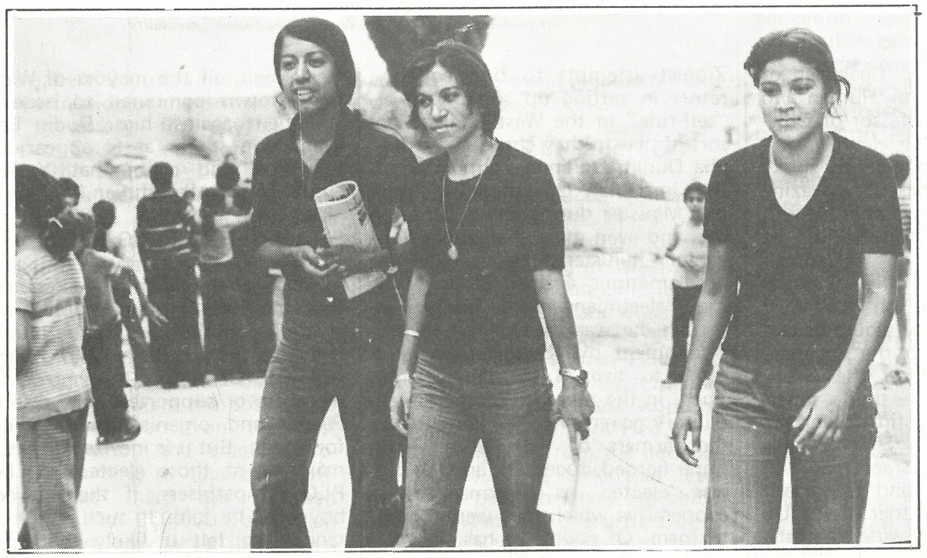
"Whenever Palestinian mothers confront a difficulty, our members are always ready to help. We countered the cutting off of water in Beirut, in the recent Syrian-rightist clashes, by using wells.

EDUCATION, PROFESSIONAL TRAINING.

"In addition, professional training centres (typing, sewing, etc.) have been opened in the various refugee camps in Lebanon. Hundreds of Palestinian women have thus been able to learn a skill. From now on they will be able to provide for their families' needs or earn their own living.

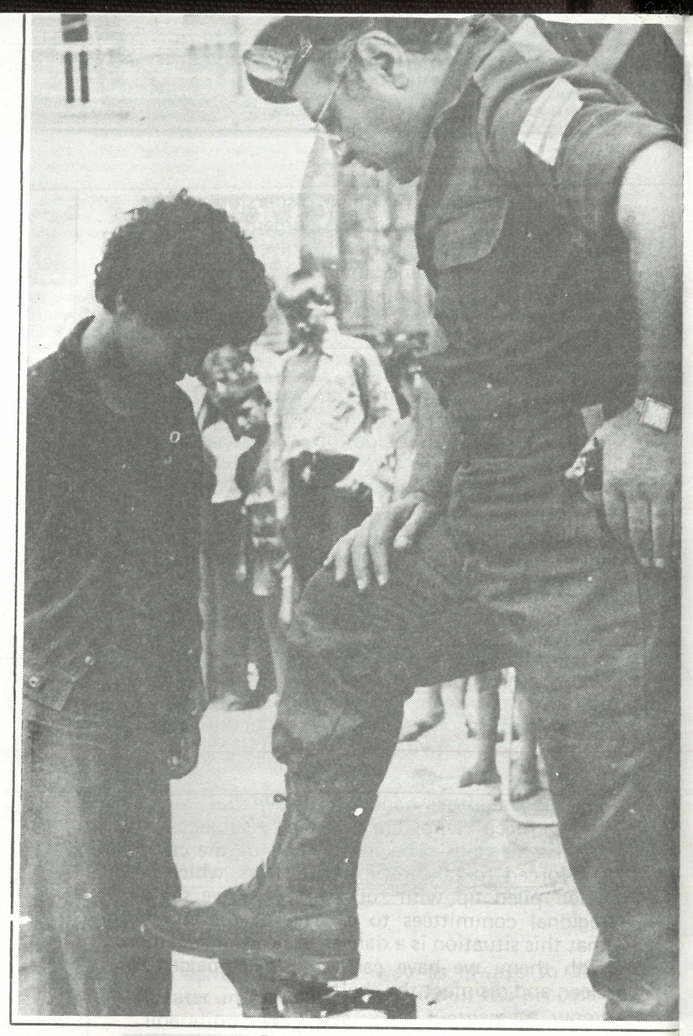
"To enable Palestinian women to practise their professions freely, we have opened creches and kindergartens. Thus they are relieved of the problem of looking after children So far we've set up nine creches and kindergartens in the various Palestinian camps in Lebanon. Naturally we have taken the financial situation of Palestinian families into consideration. We've fixed a monthly fee of 150 Lebanese pounds per child, with a 10% reduction for women who work in the Palestinian Revolution.

"One important aspect of our activity is that it ensures we are in direct contact with Palestinian women, while it also helps to draw them out of their isolation and help them overcome all difficulties. We try to participate in efforts which tend to resolve Palestinian women's problems in a group. For the Revolution is a process of collective solution and change for all of us."



ISRAEL SHAHAK: THE PALESTINIAN "BANTUSTAN"

THE GLOBAL ZIONIST ROLE



Zionist "Bantustan" mentality

Dr. Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, recently spoke to the London-based magazine "Free Palestine" (October 1978). In a wide-ranging conversation, he exposed the sort of 'Palestinian Bantustan' which the Zionists intended to create on the West Bank. Such an entity would be closely bound up with the enforced reliance on sectors of the Israeli economy with the super-exploitation of Palestinian workers inside Israel. Dr. Shahak also pointed out that Israel plays an increasingly active and important role as a willing partner of the US in policing its world-wide interests.

Dr. Shahak was scathing over Zionist attempts to find collaborators in setting up some kind of "self-rule" in the West Bank: 'The sort of person they choose is Mustapha Dudin. Dudin was a member of the Jordanian Government – Interior Minister during Black September, and even more than other Jordanian ministers, he excelled in proclamations against PLO. After the Palestinians were broken in Jordan, he was thrown out of the government by King Hussein, and came to live in the West Bank. Then, in the presence of the Israeli military governor of the West Bank, the farmers of the Hebron area were herded together, and Dudin was 'elected' as chairman of a cooperative which they were forced to form. Of course he has the sole rights to import fertiliser and agricultural tools, and so on. Several weeks ago, all the mayors of West Bank towns combined to issue a statement against him. Dudin has even gone so far as to appear on television and claim that Yasser Arafat is not a Palestinian.'

NO FLAG

Dr. Shahak said that he expected that the Israelis would soon hold elections on the lines of the municipal elections held in 1976. 'They will say, of course, that no PLO members or supporters may stand. Parties and organisations will be forbidden. But it is inevitable that a majority of those elected will be PLO sympathisers, if there is no boycott,' he said. In such circumstances, he felt it likely that any assembly would eventually be dissolved by the military governor.

But he compared the situation of such an 'autonomous' assembly to the present position. 'There are elected mayors of West Bank towns. But before any of them can employ so much as an extra janitor the signature of the military governor is necessary.

'When the British ruled Egypt, there was a King or a Khedive. There were Egyptian ministers. But the permission of the British Consul was necessary for anything to happen. Such an 'autonomy' would be in the same position as South Vietnam under the Americans, or the Transkei. At least they have their own flags. You can be sure that the one flag which will not be allowed to fly on the West Bank will be the Palestinian flag.'

Forcing Jewish slum dwellers into Zionist settlements

But the Israelis were anxious to set up such a Palestinian Bantustan in order to regulate the position of the Arab workers from the West Bank, on whom the Israeli economy was coming to depend. 'I estimate that there are between 200,000 and 250,000 Palestinian Arabs who now work illegally in Israel. I base this on the recent statement of the Chief of Police of Tel Aviv, who said that he estimated that 70,000 worked in his district alone. Tel Aviv has one-third of the population of Israel, so I multiply this by three,' he said. Dr. Shahak added that official Israeli statistics were useless in this matter, because the Arab workers formed part of Israel's 'black' or parallel economy, which consists of deals and transfers which are not declared to the authorities to avoid income tax and value added tax.

WORKERS EXPLOITED

Dr. Shahak produced a sheaf of translations from the Israeli press dealing with the position of the Palestinians working in Israel. The position of Palestinian child labour on Israeli Kibbutzim and other agricultural establishments was referred to in last month's **Free Palestine**. But the situation goes much further than that. 'Without these workers, Tel Aviv would be paralysed,' is a typical comment from the newspaper articles. Many tasks that Jews now find beneath them are being taken by Arabs – one article even complained that Arabs were being employed as mechanics to service the jeeps and trucks of the Israeli Army.

Dr. Shahak pointed out that Israeli law forbids Arabs from the occupied territories to spend the night in Israel – though as he pointed out, in Israel's usual racist fashion, this does not apply to Jews in the occupied territories. But the Border Police have reached an unspoken agreement with many of the small traders and factory owners who employ Arab workers illegally. If the Palestinians are locked up during the hours of darkness, then the authorities turn a blind eye. As a result, several Palestinian workers died recently when a factory in which they were sleeping caught fire.

And of course, if the authorities choose, such people may be expelled and prevented from working inside Israel, whenever the authorities choose to act. But the greater fear of the Israeli authorities is that Arabs, now essential for the functioning of many Israeli cities and villages, will begin to settle in Jewish areas. The creation of a Palestinian autonomy will serve Israel in the same way in which the Bantustans serve South Africa. Palestinians will no longer be in Israel except with the status of 'immigrant workers'. The Palestinian Bantustan will be responsible for their housing, social welfare, education and other problems. Israel, like other developed countries, will have access to cheap Third World labour. The Palestinians will have the same position as black South Africans or West Germany's 'guest workers'. This desire to regularise the position of the Palestinian workers, on whose labour large sections of the Israeli economy now depends, is behind the Israeli agreement to a Palestinian 'autonomy' on the West Bank.

PEOPLE FORCED INTO SETTLEMENTS

Dr Shahak commented on the emerging pattern of settlements. 'There are now 101 settlements in the occupied territories; all the settlements have been legalised, with the exception of the most recent one near Nablus,' he pointed out, destroying the myth of 'confrontation' between 'religious extre-

Zionist arms manufacturing for the racist and dictatorial regimes of the world

mists' and the Israeli government which is constantly featured in the western press. 'But the important thing is the placing of such settlements. The West Bank is now divided by three military roads running north-south, and by several others running east-west. Settlements are being placed at the crossing points, so the whole of the area is being divided into easily controlled squares of territory.' This pattern, said Dr Shahak, illustrated the total victory within the Israeli cabinet of Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, who is now 'the Czar of the occupied territories'. The best estimate of the numbers of people who had settled the territories, Dr Shahak thought, was between 16 and 17 thousand. But he added that there was increasing reluctance by young people to go to these territories, and the result was growing indirect compulsion. This showed itself by the government's refusal to grant credits for cheap housing inside Israel itself. Demonstrators in Jerusalem recently demanding improved housing were told to 'go and live in the occupied territories'. Government workers are being forced to move there by the establishment of military industries — those supplying parts for the armaments industry — in the occupied territories. The kibbutz movement can obviously compel some people to settle, but the authorities are interested in going east and north. It won't hurt them much to give up the settlements in the Sinai.'

GLOBAL ZIONIST ROLE IN NICARAGUA, CHILE...

Dr Shahak said that one should emphasise one factor which adds a strong element of stability, despite the problems of the relationship between Israel and the US. 'This is the Israeli global role outside the Arab world. What is often not comprehended is the extent to which Israel is the servant of the US where the US cannot intervene. For example, in spring this year, strong representations from the Roman Catholic Church in the United States forced the Carter administration to end its supplies of arms to the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua. Israel immediately started to supply arms — with transport for them provided by West Germany. So the Nicaraguan National Guard is shooting down the people with Galil rifles. Or take the fence which the South Africans have built between Namibia and Angola. Who built it for them? — Israelis. In Latin American, Nicaragua is the seventh country to receive Israeli arms. The others are Chile, Ecuador, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico. Of course, Chile is Israel's greatest friend. Mordecai Gur, the former Chief of the Israeli General Staff, was there recently, visiting the country, and was photographed smiling with General Pinochet, and quoted as praising the achievements of the Chilean Army. Of course, the entire supply of helmets for the Chilean Army is made on a Mapam kibbutz! Israel is the chief supplier of barbed wire to Latin America, both the ordinary kind and the electrified version. If this were to happen in Britain — it could not go without protest. But the situation in Israel is such that it can do these dirty jobs without there being any protest raised.'

....SOUTH AFRICA, IRAN

'If we take Africa, then of course there is South Africa. Israel supplies communications equipment to the police. Who else would provide walkie talkie to patrol Soweto? What weapons do Smith's forces use? the Ruzi — which stands for Rhodesian Uzi. Hastings Banda's goon squads in Malawi are trained by the Israelis; so are Kenya's secret police. They are in the Ivory Coast, and they support Emperor Bokassa.

In Asia, Israeli experts have helped the Shah of Iran carry out his land reform program, which consists of handing the land over to the multinational companies, and herding the people into new villages which are effectively concentration camps. The former commander of the West Bank served for three years as an advisor to the armed forces of Singapore. After the counter-revolution in Thailand, Israel began delivering small arms — the Galil again — to the military government, because it was impossible for the US to be openly involved so soon after the defeat in Vietnam.'

Finally, Dr Shahak drew attention to the role of Israel in mercenary recruiting, under the guise of combatting 'general terrorism'. Former Army officers were advertising quite openly for ex-soldiers willing to serve outside Israel and the occupied territories; some were being recruited to combat 'internal subversion' as far away as Ecuador. All this, he concluded, meant that Israel had a role to play on behalf of the US quite apart from its role in the Arab world, and served to strengthen the ties between the Zionist State and the United States.

Dr Shahak said that he feared that as a result of the agreement with Egypt, Israel would begin to put strong pressure on Syria, particularly to withdraw from Christian areas in Lebanon. He expressed his fear that Syria would not be able to resist such pressure without military guarantees from the Soviet Union, and that in this way, Israeli attempts to enforce its policies by using its military strength could once again bring war to the Middle East, perhaps in the near future.

ZIONIST TERROR AND ALERT

The Zionist military authorities intensified patrols and established roadblocks in the cities of the West Bank after the recent upsurge in political protests and the increase in commando operations. The new measures included extensive searches and raids of homes of "suspects." One of these actions was carried out on 8 December against the village of Abu Dibs, where homes were searched belonging to three citizens accused of planting an explosive charge on the Mount of Olives in occupied Jerusalem. After terrorizing the villagers, the occupation authorities finally took away many of the inhabitants for interrogation.

The Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* reported on 22 December that the Zionist authorities are planning to implement firm measures against two West Bank mayors because of their pro-PLO apinions and their incitement of the population to openly struggle against Israel.

PERSISTENT SETTLEMENTS POLICY

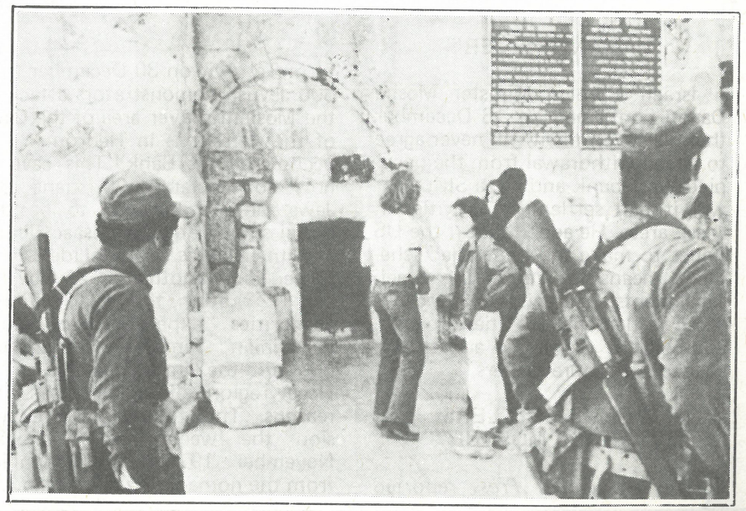
The Israeli Joint Committee for the consolidation and development of settlements decided in its first meeting on 22 November 1978 to strengthen and develop existing settlements in the Jordan River valley, the Golan Heights, and at the approaches to Rafah and Hebron. The decisions of this committee were confirmed by Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Minister of Agriculture and head of the Knesset Settlements Committee. He urged Israeli settlers to continue working in the occupied Sinai until the last moment before withdrawal, and announced a plan for establishing more settlements in the West Bank and Golan Heights. Sharon also stressed the importance of settlements for Israel's survival, saying: "I do not see how Israel can thrive without establishing new settlements."

The *Jerusalem Post* reported that the Settlements Department of the Jewish Agency has put forth a new plan to settle 27,000 Jewish families in already existing settlements in the West Bank and in 46 new settlements that will be built. The cost of this settlement plan will total around 54 billion Israeli pounds.

According to reports from occupied Palestine, on 13 December the Gush Emunim settlement movement made a decision to establish more settlements in the occupied territories, where it has already occupied three hills near Nablus and other areas near Jericho. Meanwhile Israeli government officials have forbidden the Arab citizens of Hebron and Beit Sahour from building in large, specified areas, because the Israelis went to reserve these lands for the establishment of new settlements.

The Israeli Communist party, Rakah, denounced the Israeli policy of Arab land confiscation in the West and compared it to the policy undertaken against Arab land in Galilee, in northern Palestine, as one part of Israel's dream to achieve "Greater Israel". The party's paper, *Al-Ittihad*, denounced the "self-rule" conspiracy planned by Carter, Begin and Sadat as only a cover for the Judaization of occupied Arab territories.

On 17 December 1978, the Israeli supreme court rejected the appeal of 40 Palestinian landowners from the village of Ainata near Jerusalem against the illegal seizure of their land. The court justified these land seizures by saying they were carried out to meet the needs of the Israeli army, thus in effect legitimising the confiscation of any Arab land by the Israeli authorities.



ZIONISM IN PRACTICE

Gush Emunim settlers

DAYAN: "NEVER"

Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan confirmed on 18 December that his government will never agree to Israeli withdrawal from the occupied West bank and Gaza Strip, nor will it halt settlement activities in these areas. He added that if the US hopes to make the "self-rule" scheme a means for liquidating Israeli settlements, it is mistaken, because these settlements are "here to stay, and will be developed and strengthened with more settlers."

ZIONIST SETTLERS ATTACK MOSQUE

The *Associated Press* reported from Tel Aviv on 30 December that 300 Jewish demonstrators attacked the Moslem prayer area of the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron in the occupied West Bank. This cave is holy to Moslems, Christians and Jews, and is believed to be the burial site of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and their wives. This incident was preceded by another on 25 November. In addition, the Israeli military authorities expelled two more Palestinian families from their homes in the Um-Daigha area in the Negev region, allegedly for security reasons. This followed the expulsion the week before, on 29 November 1978, of 40 families from the nomadic Azazima clan.

ISRAELI TROOPS: CONTINUOUS AGGRESSION AGAINST SOUTH OF LEBANON

During December 1978, Israeli troops attacked many citizens of South Lebamon, their villages and their property.

On 1 December 1978, the Israelis killed one Lebanese civilian and wounded another after penetrating two kilometers inside Lebanese territory. Even members of Norwegian UNIFIL patrols have been stopped and beaten by the Israelis. Israeli naval pirates pursued two cargo ships carrying foodstuffs on their way to the port of Tyre in South Lebanon, on 13 December. One of the cargo ships was captured and the second escaped after the artillery intervention of the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces. The Israeli pirates launched another attack on three small cargo ships on 20 December, but failed to capture any of them.

On the night of 16 December, the Israeli and isolationist forces shelled the town Hasbaya and the Lebanese army unit stationed at Kawkaba from inside and outside occupied Palestine for seven hours. Many towns and villages were also subjected to similar shelling, and UN-observers in South Lebanon have stated that Israeli forces were guilty of 40 violations of the borders in October, and approximately 100 violations in November.

Israeli air pirates also took part in the almost daily Israeli aggressions against South Lebanon. On 21 December, various formations of Israeli jets bombed several Palestinian refugee camps three consecutive times, resulting in two civilians killed and eleven wounded, and the destruction of several houses. This was allegedly in reprisal for Palestinian commando operations in occupied Palestine.

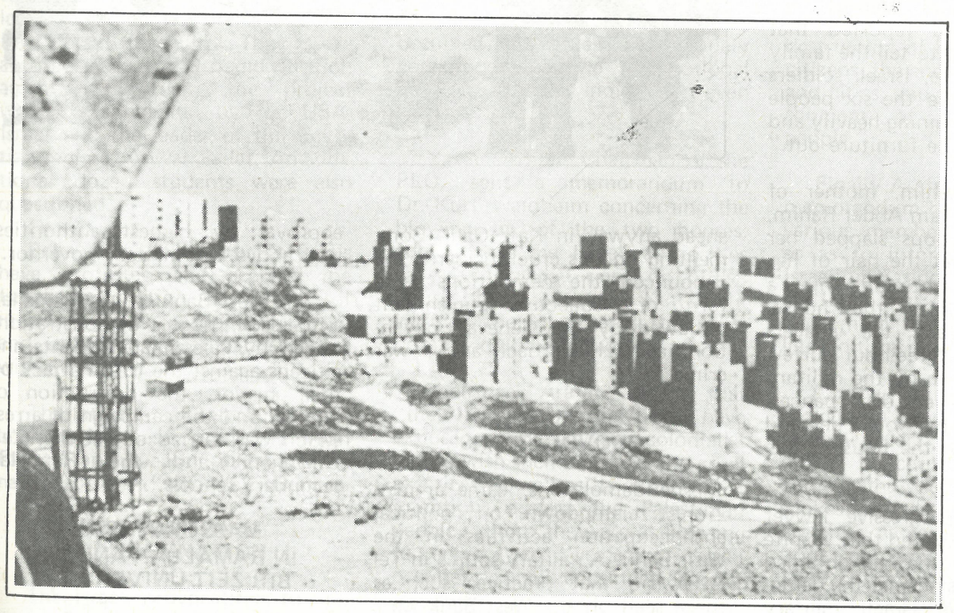
68 UN MEMBERS VOTE FOR ARMS AND NUCLEAR EMBARGO AGAINST ISRAEL

The General Assembly's main political committee adopted a resolution requesting the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against Israel. The vote on the draft was 68 in favour and 24 against, with 33 abstentions. It would request the Security Council to call on all states, under the UN Charter's mandatory enforcement provisions, to "refrain from any supply of arms, ammunition, military equipment or vehicles, or spareparts thereof, to Israel, without any exception."

The council would also be requested to call on all states to end transfer to Israel of "nuclear equipment of fissionable material or technology". The resolution expresses grave concern over the "continued and rapid Israeli military build-up" and alarm at the "increasing evidence regarding Israeli attempts to acquire nuclear weapons."

ZIONIST HYPOCRISY ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

"An Israeli member of Parliament caused an uproar in the Knesset today when he handcuffed himself to rostrum microphoses during a debate on Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union. Charlie Bitton, a member of the Israeli Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, made his protest after demanding that the House drop the subject from the agenda and discuss the conditions in Israeli prisons instead." *(Reuter news agency,* 27 December 1978 from Jerusalem)



Zionist expansion on Palestinian land

ZIONIST AUTHORITIES DEMOLISH HOUSES

On 5 December 1978, Israeli bulldozers in Silwad near Jerusalem demolished the home of a Palestinian citizen accused by the Zionist military authorities of killing two collaborators with Israel's military authorities in the occupied West Bank of Palestine. A second house was blown up in the village of Kafr Qalil just outside the major West Bank city of Nablus. An Israeli military spokesman alleged that an inhabitant of the house had participated in nine commando actions against Israeli installations and soldiers.

Musa Mahmoud Hamed, the mayor of Silwad reported that "when he refused to tell the family to leave the house, Israeli soldiers went in and drove the six people out while it was raining heavily and began to throw the furniture out."

Mrs. Abdel Rahim, mother of the convicted Akram Abdel Rahim, said that the troops slapped her husband, pulled at the hair of her nine year old daughter and threw a younger son from the house. Following this act, the villagers protested and a three-hour curfew was clamped down by the military authorities to prevent disturbances. The mayor said he would demand compensation for the house in the courts.

The Israeli progressive lawyer Felicia Langer declared that, inspite of the fact that she had obtained injunction orders against the demolitions from the Israeli military supreme court, the demolition went ahead anyway in Kafr Qalil. Commenting on this cruel incidents she denounced the demolitions as a form of "collective punishment outlawed by the Geneva Convention, a Nazi approach and a war crime."

DELIBERATE PROVOCATIONS

The demolitions, came amid a Zionist clampdown on political anti-occupation activities in the West Bank. A military source in Tel Aviv said that practices such as those seen on the West Bank were used "selectively and only after approval by highest authorities, well above the military governor."

The West Bank city of Ramallah witnessed huge demonstrations staged by Palestinian students and citizens against the Israeli attack on their mayor, the destruction of houses, and the campaign of arrest which was carried out at Beir Zeit University and the Ramallah secondary schools.

MASS PROTESTS IN RAMALLAH AND AT BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY

A military Israeli spokesman, Col. Shmolik Moyal, confirmed that a commercial strike occured in Ramallah, and that Bir Zeit University students tried to go to Silwad to protest there.

Israeli troops and police encircled the Ramallah municipality in order to disperse hundreds of citizens and students who were staging a sit-in in the building to protest arbitrary Israeli measures.

The Israeli authorities arrested several Palestinian citizens, while commercial areas and public squares were closed off to the Israeli forces by Palestinian masses. At least six students were arrested at Bir Zeit University. They were accused of joining a demonstration against "self-rule", the project which is sponsored by the USA, Israel and the leader of the Egyptian regime, Anwar Sadat. An additional dozen students were also questioned.

Beir Zeit University officials have protested and accused the Israeli occupation authorities of interfering with academic freedom and detaining Palestinian students without trial.

The latest Israeli terror measures characterize best Zionist "Human Rights" and "peace" policy and the nature of the "self-rule" schemes.

INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION

The Israeli provocations to suppress Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories were widely condemned in the international press and caused indignation even in the U.S.

Blown up Arab houses in occupied Palestine

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, sent a memorandum to Dr. Kurt Waldheim concerning the blowing up of the two houses, adding that the Israeli authorities have also placed signs on others houses in Silwad and Kafr Qalil warning the inhabitants that their homes would be blown up.

Chairman Arafat added, that "the Israeli authorities have exposed their racist, colonialist nature with such inhuman and cruel practices as well as its expansionist intentions against the Palestinian people, whom they are attempting to subject to permanent Israeli occupation and continued Zionist settlement as embodied in the so-called "self-rule" plan through the destruction of houses, expulsion of citizens, the encirclement of villages and cities, and the arrest and imprisonment of thousands of our people."

Finally Arafat requested that the memorandum be distributed to the various member states of the UN, so as to inform them about the Israeli violations of human rights and of the Geneva Convention concerning the protection of civilians in time of war.

At the United Nations, a UN spokesman said that "Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim is very much concerned about Israel's demolishing of houses." The spokesman described the Israeli practices as terrorist and in violations of Geneva Convention of 1949 concerning the protection of civilians and human rights during time of war.

"PALESTINE" ANALYSIS:

THE DANGER OF ECONOMIC ZIONISM

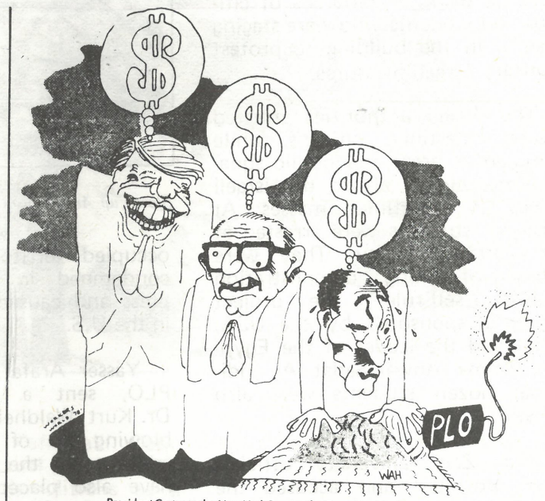
By Faris Glubb

In 1974, the then US Assistant Treasury Secretary Gerald Parsky declared that the US government had not ruled out the possibility of "even providing Israel with Arab oil money under... a three-party agreement." He made this announcement after talks in Washington between US and Israeli officials on how to develop closer mutual economic co-operation, and also following a visit to Tel Aviv by US Treasury Secretary William Simon to discuss the same subject.

Parsky stressed that the United States was eager to establish a framework for three-party agreements between the Arab oil states, which would provide the capital, the US government and banking interests, which would act as intermediaries, and Israel, to which the momey would be channelled. "The question is whether the other participants would want it to happen", "Parsky added. "We feel very strongly that economic development and co-operation can enhance peace in the Middle East." (1)

Despite this expression of concern, the process of which Parsky was speaking was already far advanced. In the first eight months of 1974, a total of US,$6 billion were placed by the Arab oil states in the New York money market. Since then the rate of this "recycling of surplus oil revenues" has accelerated.

In addition to visiting Israel, Mr. Simon also held talks with Saudi and Kuwaiti leaders to encourage them to invest a major part of their oil revenues in US government securities. He then toured Europe to help ensure that Arab money invested there was handled mainly by NATO governments allied to the United States, so that it could be channelled the way US planners desired. In early September 1974, Finance Ministers of the United States, Japan and major Western European powers met in Paris to discuss the necessary arrangements in detail. (2)



President Carter to the New York Post on the Camp David talks:
"We discussed the fact that we worshipped the same God."

The Israeli economic mess aggravates

All these developments prompted a Kuwaiti newspaper to state: "We will be compelled to ask ourselves what is the motivation behind our Arab rulers' precipitation towards the United States... Why are Arab billions being poured into that country in order to be transformed into investments particularly in Israel?" (3) Prominent Arab thinkers, such as the Arab Economic Unity Council's Chairman Dr. Abdul Aal Sakban, urged that surplus Arab oil revenues be invested where capital is most needed, for the development of the world's poorest countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

ISRAELI ECONOMY IN CRISIS

Parsky's statement came against a background of grave crisis in the Israeli economy, resulting from a combination of recurring balance of payments deficits and heavy inflation. The balance of payments deficit, around $1 billion in 1972, rose to some $2 bn in 1973 and $3.5 bn in 1974. Foreign currency reserves had shrunk from almost $1.7 bn at the end of 1973 to under $1 bn a year later. The Zionist state's import of goods and services was then running at around $1.5 bn every three months. The consumer price index in August 1974 was 37.5% higher than the previous year. This led the government to adopt a series of tough measures on 10 Novemner 1974, including a 43% devaluation and cuts in most food subsidies. () While these measures were designed to reduce imports and make Israeli exports more competitive, in the immediate term they only aggravated the inflation problem further.

The Israeli external debt, which amounted to $257 per capita in 1955, had risen to $886 per capita in 1970 and $1,859 per capita, namely a total of some $6.5 bn, in 1974. Each year, the Zionist state was compelled to make up part of its balance of payments deficit from foreign loans, despite the very generous aid it was receiving from the United States government, Jewish organisations in the West and the West German government. The rate at which the Israeli economy had to be financed from outside was growing steadily. The total US capital inflow it secured between 1970 and 1974 was $10 bn, of which half was after the October 1973 war.

The 1975-76 budget envisaged $2.3 bn in US aid and a further $1 bn to be raised mainly in foreign loans. At that time, however, fears were expressed in Zionist circles that "the flow of dollars is beginning to dwindle" and that US aid would be reduced owing to the difficulties the American economy was facing.(5) The 1976-77 budget estimated imports at $7.8 bn and exports at $4 bn, leaving a deficit of $3.8 bn. Unilateral receipts from abroad were put at $2.4 bn, including a $1.3 bn grant from the US government, leaving $1.4 bn to be covered by foreign loans. By the end of 1976, Israel's total foreign debt had reached some $9 bn, involving an interest burden of $500 m, or 25% of the total added value of exports. (6)

ISRAEL, THE E.E.C. AND "CHEAP" ARAB LABOUR

The free trade zone agreement signed with the European Economic Community, involving the abolition of tariffs on EEC imports from Israel and gradual tariff reductions for Israeli imports from the EEC, has provided some encouragement for Israeli export industries. However, the impact of this is lessened by the fact that virtually all the products that Israel can export to the EEC are already being produced in many Western European countries by well-established companies.

It is difficult for the Israelis to challenge and outclass these indigenous manufacturers in terms of, say, quality or marketing. Israeli goods could make substantial inroads in the large Western Europan market, however, if they are competitively priced. And to produce goods more cheaply than Europe does, Israel needs cheaper labour first and foremost. Since the Israeli economy generally maintains a steady level of full employment and even has a labour shortage much of the time, large-scale cheap labour has to come from non-Israeli sources.

Occupation police controls "cheap" Arab labour

ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF ARAB WORLD

In fact, if the Israeli economy is to eliminate its dependence on outside financing, it needs export markets which are large and where it does not have to compete with well-established local manufacturers. Geographically, the closest such markets are in the Arab countries, some of which also have cheap labour available.

However, the factor that has prevented the Zionists from exploiting Arab labour and selling to Arab markets (except on a limited scale in the occupied territories) is the Arab Boycott of Israel Office. While the boycott has not been 100% watertight, it is a weapon that on the whole has had remarkable success in curbing the Zionist economic threat to the whole has had remarkable success in curbing the Zionist economic threat to the Arab World. The Zionists are no less competent economically than they are militarily, and their military expansion would have been accompanied by an even more sensational economic expansion had it not been for the Arab boycott. Thus it is not surprising that the Zionists have made intensive efforts to undermine and destroy the boycott and have waged fierce propaganda campaigns against it in the West.

THE "EBAN PLAN"

When the then Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban put forward what he termed "nine principles by which peace can be achieved" in 1968, he laid great stress on the Zionists' desire for "open frontiers" to enable them to expand their economic domination over the whole Arab World. Specifically, Eban stated: "When agreement is reached on the establishment of peace with permanent boundaries, the freedom of movement now existing in the area, especially in the Israel-Jordan sector, should be maintained and developed. It would be incongruous if our peoples were to intermingle in peaceful contact and commerce only when there is a state of war and ceasefire – and to be separated into ghettos when there is peace. We should emulate the open frontier now developing within communities of States, as in parts of Western Europe. Within this concept, we include free port facilities for Jordan on Israel's Mediterranean coast and mutual access to places of religious and historical associations." (7)

The pleasant-sounding phrases such as "freedom of movement", "peaceful contact and commerce", "open frontier", "free port facilities" and later calls for a "Middle Eastern common market" of Israel and the Arab states mask more sinister ambitions of using advanced technological, financial and marketing skills to enable the Zionists to take control over the manpower, purchasing power and the huge and only partially developed raw material resources of the Arab countries.

The Eban plan represented the philosiphy of the new economic Zionism, a form of neo-colonialism, as opposed to the traditional militarist Zionism which was a branch of traditional nineteenth century European colonialism. Economic Zionism was developed as a programme of action not only by sophisticated Israelis like Eban, but probably to an even greater extent by American Zionists in positions of power in the United States such as Dr. Kissinger, Simon and Parsky.

The new Zionism is essentially American in its conception and methods. Just as military Zionism modelled itself on European conquest and settler colonialism, treating the Arabs as the Europeans treated the Red Indians, Africans and Australian aborigines, so economic Zionism takes as its model the United States' methods of controlling Latin America. Economic Zionists argued that the modern international atmosphere was not conducive to successive wars of conquest nor did Israel have the manpower to subdue the whole region from Egypt to Iraq. The United States, on the other hand, controls Latin America with the minimum of direct military intervention and was able to overthrow the government of Chile without having to lose a single member of its own armed forcesIt could do so because of its economic domination of Latin America.

BEGIN ADOPTS ECONOMIC ZIONISM

Initially, military Zionists opposed the view of economic Zionism and clung to the old slogans of "the redemption of Zion" through "blood and fire". The most vociferous exponent of military Zionism, before he became Prime Minister, was Menahem Begin. Those members of his Likud bloc, such as Geula Cohen, who still adhere to the old concept, Those members of his Likud bloc, such as Geula Cohen, who still adhere to the old concept, it would be true to say that Begin has forsaken the traditional form of Zionism to a great extent, and has adopted the new and more effective form preached by Eban and Kissinger.

The reason for this conversion is not hard to find. In opposition it was easy for Begin to talk of the glory of military conquest and brand people like Eban, quite unjustifiably, as "doves". But having to lead a government that was struggling to manage an economy constantly on the verge of collapse forced Begin to face a bitter reality: that this precarious economy is a serious weakness which, if not remedied, could threaten Israel's very survival.

The result initially was the adoption of measures in late 1977 to make the Israeli economy more overtly capitalist. These included a 45% currency devaluation, changes in the system of taxation, floating the Israeli pound and a relaxation of controls on the holding of foreign currency. The new measures adopted by Finance Minister Simha Ehrlich, and based on the ideas of the American economist Milton Friedman who represented a very conservative brand of capitalism, were opposed by the organised trade union movement, the Histadrut. For they were designed to weaken organised labour, stimulate unemployment, lower working-class living standards and encourage an accumulation of capital in the hands of the richer few and enable them to increase their entrepreneurial investments.

STRENGTHENING CAPITALISM

The Likud aimed at eventually eliminating the pseudo-socialist aspects of the Israeli economy that were the legacy of 29 years of rule by the Mapai party and its allies. In fact, this process had already begun earlier with the tough measures of November 1974. The Likud further reduced subsidies on essential commodities.

Ehrlich's measures resulted in further cost of living increases whose burden was borne most heavily by the lower income groups, particularly Sephardic or "Oriental" Jews. Those Israelis who could possess foreign currency were almost entirely Western Jews, notably those benefiting from West German "reparations". The devaluation, which gave them 45% more Israeli pounds for their foreign currency, cushioned them against the hardships in the Ehrlich package. Small businesses lacking the resources to absorb increased costs of raw materials were also hit and many were forced to close down. This fostered a trend towards concentrating means of production in the hands of monopoly capitalism.

As Ehrlich pointed out when he presented his package to the Knesset, it was the result at least partially of consultations with US Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal. In its general lines it followed the pattern that the United States was trying to encourage in the Middle East as a whole: stimulating the growth of the private sector at the expense of the public sector and eliminating welfare state methods such as food subsidies. The Egyptian economy has been following a very similar pattern in recent years, on the advice of American economists and the World Bank. It may be recalled that the January 1976 uprising in Egypt was largely sparked off by the government's decision to cut subsidies on essential commodities.

The converging paths followed by the Egyptian and Israeli economies give a clue to Begin's willingness to reach agreement with

Trade of the occupied territories in 1976 (million IL):

	West Bank		Gaza and N.Sinai	
	Imports	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Exports*
Trade with Israel				
Agricultural Produce	291	108	183	77
Industrial Produce	1,476	509	1,173	452
Trade with Jordan				
Agricultural Produce	1	98	0	193
Industrial Produce	28	45	0	0
Trade with other countries				
Agricultural Produce	71	19	52	101
Industrial Produce	103	8	78	0
Total	1,970	787	1,486	823

Exploitation of the occupied territories

President Sadat, even at the price of an Israeli withdrawal from Sinai; in other words, Begin's conversion from military to economic Zionism. As a leading Egyptian intellectual pointed out after the Camp David agreement, "We have regained Sinai and lost Egypt." Conversely, the Israelis under the Camp David accord lost Sinai and "gained" Egypt.

THE DANGER TO EGYPT

Egypts's official news media have given the impression that the signature of a peace treaty with Israel will solve the problems of the Egyptian economy. In fact, it will 'solve' the problems of the Israeli economy by providing it with access to cheap Egyptian labour and raw materials and the huge Egyptian market for its manufactured goods. If President Sadat believes that the Israelis will allow Egypt to build up a prosperous modern economy that can compete with their own, he must be extremely naive.

The Israelis are also hoping to use Egypt as a back door into the rest of the Arab World's markets, to enable them to destroy the Arab boycott. Israeli-made goods labelled "made in Egypt" can be flooded into other Arab countries through Egypt. Furthermore, Egypt can become another channel through which Arab oil money can be invested in Israel. An Egyptian official has pointed out that Saudi Arabia will continue to provide financing for Egypt even after the signature of a treaty with Israel.(8)

Israeli Industry, Commerce and Tourism Minister Yigal Horowitz pointed out that "Egypt is not alone in needing peace – our need for it is no less. I dare to say that our economic situation makes peace imperative. Emigration from the country last year was in a similar propostion to immigration."(9)

The Israeli press has openly been discussing plans drawn up by Zionist economists for "the new market that will open up." Israeli shipping magnate Yaakov Meridor, one of the founders of the Likud, has drawn up what he calls an "expanded Marshall plan" for the Middle East, after the Marshall plan that enabled the United States to extend its control over substantial sectors of the economies of Western Europe after the Second World War. Maridor's plan would involve the investment of $15 bn annually, the sort of sum that could be raised only from the oil states or a consortium of Western countries. Meridor envisages the United States being the senior partner in this, with the EEC, Scandinavian countries and international Jewish financiers also participating. (10)

Other Zionist experts have pointed out that the Arab World has great mineral wealth and other natural resources, while Israel has expertise and advanced technology – an ideal combination for exploitation on the US – Latin American pattern.(11)

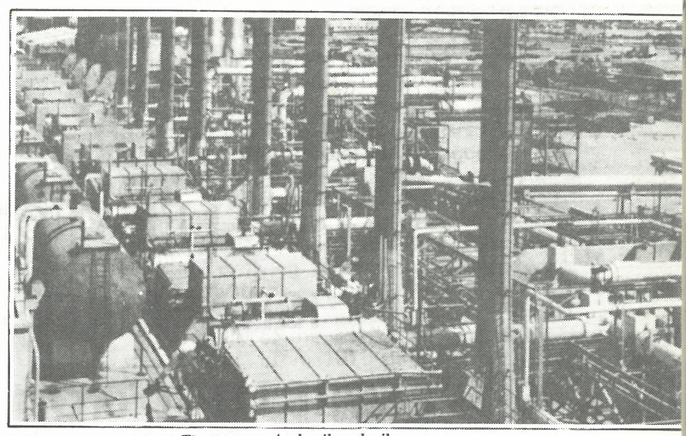
As early as 1965, the Director-General of the Bank of Israel began preparing a study on Arab-Israeli "economic co-operation". No sooner had President Sadat visited Israel than various Israeli institutions and companies began producing a host of projects from joint ventures in tourism to an Egyptian-Israeli nuclear power plant in Sinai which could power a huge desalination plant, with industrial and agricultural projects attached, as well as joint exploitation of Suez and Sinai oil including joint ventures in petrochemicals. This was described as a "basis for a common market in the Middle East."(12) Sinai is a potential source of cheap raw material wealth for Israel, notably phosphates, coal, gypsum and sand for glass-making.

ZIONIST ECONOMIC EXPANSIONISM

As Ehrlich has pointed out, "Sadat's visit (to Jerusalem)... increased investor's confidence in Israel."(13) This is a vital criterion for the success of Zionist economic expansionism. To ensure its control over and exploitation of the Arab World's great potential, Israeli entrepreneurs need to attract large amounts of capital. This they are endeavouring to do from both the West and the Arab oil states.

The Arab oil funds channelled to Israel so far have come indirectly, through the United States, on the lines recommented by Parsky in 1974. So far, the Arab countries have shown insufficient awareness of this danger. Thus the bulk of the oil states' overseas investments are in the United States. A World Bank expert estimated that 75-80% of OPEC surpluses are held in dollars, including $60 bn in commercial bank deposits and some $5 bn in US equities.(14) Saudi Arabia is estimated to have invested 85% of its surpluses in dollars. (15) These include most of its $27 bn liquid reserves and at least $30 bn in US Treasury notes and $24 bn in other holdings.(16)

The sums invested in the United States have been ample to permit the latter to continue financing the Israeli economy and war machine. Since the 1973 war, US governmental aid to Israel has been running at between $2 bn and $2.6 bn annually. This is divided almost evenly between economic and military aid, and half of each portion is a direct grant. Israel is by far the largest recipient of US aid. Even the half of the US aid it receives as loans is at nominal interest rates (2-3%). Israel is also the only state exempted from a US law forbidding outright military gifts to other countries.(17)



The target: Arab oil and oil revenues

Clearly the Zionists would like to be able to pay their own way and build up a wealthy state instead of having to continue to rely on the USA to bail them out. The implementation of the Camp David agreements will enable them not only to do this but also to turn Egypt into a colony whose cheap labour and raw materials they can exploit and a captive market for their finished products, as well as a springboard for them to extend their economic control over the rest of the Arab World.

The result, while it may include a temporary suspension of military conflict, will not be peace and stability for the region. It will create a new situation, a neo-colonialism in which the Middle East will be controlled by an Israeli "master race", a small minority of Arabs who collaborate with them will become a privileged quisling class and the rest of the Arabs will be condemned to economic serfdom.

Sooner or later this is bound to lead to further upheavals. The example of Iran has shown that even the strongest and wealthiest tyrannies are not immune to popular uprisings.

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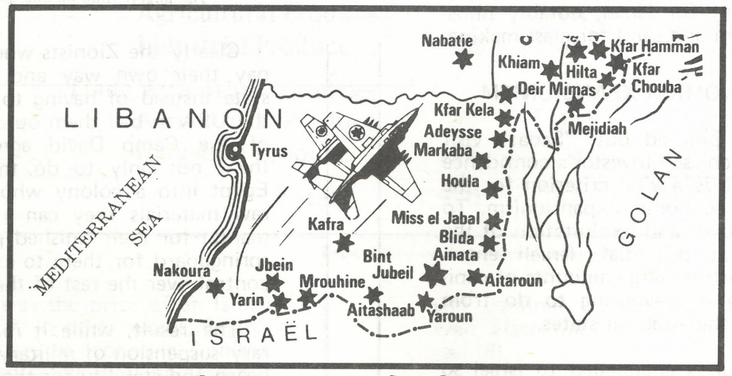
(8) *Arab Press Service Recorder,* 5 December 1978.
(9) *Maariv,* 2 January 1978.
(10) *Maariv,* 23 December 1977.
(11) *Davar,* 20 December 1977.
(12) *Maariv,* 9 & 29 December 1977; *Haaretz,* 3 January 1978.
(13) *Yediot Ahronot,* 1 December 1977.
(14) *International Herald Tribune,* 20 April 1978.
(15) *Newsweek,* 13 March 1978.
(16) *US News & World Report,* 20 March 1978.
(17) *Arab Report,* November-December 1977.

LEBANON 1978: ISRAELI-ISOLATIONIST OBSTRUCTION CONTINUES



Israeli aggression against South Lebanon

"Peace Prize" winner Begin directs aggression

It is a classic tactic of Zionism and its imperialist backers to rely upon local agents to strike at the Palestinian Revolution when direct action on their part is not possible. A most notable example is the Black September massacre of 1970 when the Jordanian regime openly collaborated with Israel and the US in trying to crush the Resistance. Lebanon, with its unstable internal political situation, has always been a fertile ground for such attempts. Ever since 1969, local agent forces have been armed, financed and propped up initially by the CIA and later directly by Israel, in constantly escalating attacks on the legitimate Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon. While these forces may have had their own reactionary reasons for opposing the Palestinian Revolution, they are easily manipulated by their imperialist and Zionist sponsors for ends which contradict those forces' own aims. Thus, while it is in the interest of the Lebanese people to support the Palestinian people's struggle to return to their homes and thus leave Lebanon, the agent forces of the so-called "Lebanese Front" instead executed US and Zionist aims of attempting to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution. The only result of such attempts had they succeeded would be, as far as the Lebanese situation is concerned, the forced settlement of some 400,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Yet it is precisely this, that the Lebanese isolationist forces have fought for years to supposedly prevent.

THE ISOLATED ISOLATIONISTS

For yet another year, the Lebanese arena in 1978 witnessed new chapters in the fierce struggle being waged there against isolationism and Zionist-Imperialist designs. Those agent forces in Lebanon that are determined to isolate it form its Arab roots and role escalated their attempt to enforce their plans for partition of Lebanon and the maintanance of sectarianism. The dangers of such attempts lay not only in the isolationists' continued defiance of the central state authority, the Arab Deterrent Forces (ADF) and the Nationalist forces and masses. Just as grave has been their brandishing of their alliance with the Zionist state. Yet despite this, it is becoming clear that after years of struggle, Lebanese isolationism is itself becoming increasingly isolated, from the Lebanese people as a whole, from the Arab people, and from world public opinion. Thus, the only path of retreat left for the isolationists is that which leads them back towards their natural allies: Zionism, imperialism and international reaction.

Though these isolationist forces are sometimes falsely portrayed as 'Christian militias' in the international media, the true nature of their past and present positions has little to do with Christianity. Led by a coalition of parties and political personalities called the 'Lebanese Front', the isolationist forces represent not only anti-Arab and rightist political ideologies on the Lebanese level. Just as important, this coalition's main party — the Phalangists — originates in and maintains strong relations with international fascism. This is embodied in the Nazi inspiration for the establishment of the party in 1936, in their national chauvinist ideology of Lebanese Maronite superiority, in their emulation of fascist internal organisation and relations, and in their relations with European rightist and fascist parties, not to mention mercenaries. The 'Lebanese Front' also includes a number of smaller groups, notably the overtly more extreme party of former Lebanese president Camille Chamoun. This aging feudal warlord has, along with the Phalangist chieftains Pierre and Beshir Gemayel, played the leading role in the isolationist militias' war over the last four years. Through a clever division of roles, this clique of fathers and sons has tried to appear 'moderate' and conciliatory while in practice never wavering from its designs for partition of Lebanon, isolating it from the Arab world and preventing it from evolving a democratic, non-sectarian political system.

The story of the isolationists' war is by now well known. From 1975 until the end of 1976 they fought on two main axes, directly executing the aims of Zionism and US imperialism: against the legitimate presence of the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon and against popular demands voiced by the Lebanese National Movement to institute democratic reforms within the Lebanese state. Under the banner of liquidating the Palestinian presence in Lebanon and maintaining sectarian privileges for the Maronite minority, the 'Lebanese Front' led Lebanon into a vicious and bloody civil war which has continued in a more sporadic and limited fashion since 1976. While the 'Lebanese Front' at first supported the Arab Deterrent Forces' entry into Lebanon in 1976, the isolationists' true allegiances were soon to be revealed. Similarly they initially voiced support for the new Lebanese President, Elias Sarkis, and his government, but have since made it clear that in practice they have been working against the re-establishment of central state authority and attempts to rebuild national institutions.

THE STOOGES BRANDISH ZIONIST ALLIANCE

When it became clear to the rightists that post-war Lebanon would not be fashioned according to their wishes and that their attempts to enforce their isolationist designs would not be tolerated by the Lebanese people and authorities, they began to play the card they had always denied they possessed. The 'Lebanese Front's' open collaboration with Israel, though going back to early in the civil war, began to be used in 1977 as a threat that if they were not heeded, they could blow the Lebanese crisis into a full scale Arab-Israeli war. The first result of the Zionist-Isolationist alliance was the creation of a strip along part of the northern Palestine border under the joint command of rightist and Zionist military and paramilitary forces. This isolationist pocket exhibited many of the same traits as the Zionist settler state, the original imperialist pocket in the Arab nation. The isolationist militias there, led by one Saad Haddad, systematically terrorised the nationalist masses of the areas,

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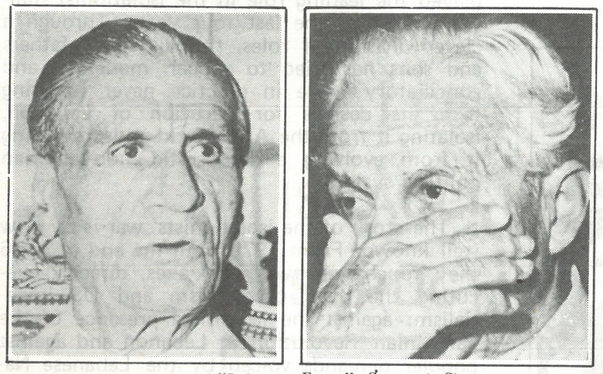

Aging warlords of "Lebanese Front": Gemayel, Chamoun

either expelling them from their villages and homes or forcing them to serve in the righist militias. They called for the establishment of an exclusively Maronite state in parts of Lebanon, and attempted to forcefully expand the area under their control.

Though the Lebanese state was unable and perhaps unwilling to force an end to this alliance between the 'Lebanese Front' and Israel, the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution consistently confronted this dangerous development, repulsing attempts throughout 1977 to expand the territories in South Lebanon under the sway of this alliance. This serious threat to the tasks of the Lebanese state and the ADF — to maintain security and rebuild a unified Arab Lebanon — was in late 1977 compounded by a new provication. Since an important part of the ADF's mandate is to assist the central state in attempts to reunify the Lebanese Army, which split in 1976, it was imperative that such efforts succeed before the ADF could relinquish its security role. The isolationists insisted however, that they maintain their traditional influence within the Army leadership and officer corps. This was to be achieved by including in the new Army officers and units which had openly fought with the 'Lebanese Front' during the civil war, and by excluding those national officers and units which had formed the Lebanese Arab Army. Similarly they resisted any serious reform in the Army in which the Maronites had the determining voice in defence policy.

ZIONIST MARCH AGGRESSION AGAINST ENTIRE ARAB NATION

Thus, in February 1978, the first clashes between the isolationists and the ADF erupted in the suburbs of Beirut. Rightist-led elements of the Army that had been accepted by the pro-isolationist Army Command as part of the reconstituted Army launched a full scale attack against ADF units in the area, inflicting heavy casualties. At the same time, the Army Command was still refusing to dismiss the Rightist Army officers, notably Saad Haddad and Sami Shidiak, who led the militias in the South Lebanon enclaves, (Even after their complete and open collaboration with Israel during the latter's occupation of South Lebanon, these officers remained on the Army's payroll!)

The dangers to Lebanon and the Arab nation as a whole which the isolationist-Zionist alliance posed, became apparent in March 1978 when more than 20,000 Zionist troops carried out a large-scale invasion of Lebanon. The aims of the invasion were clear to 'liquidate' the Palestinian Revolution's armed presence in South Lenanon and to create a so-called 'buffer zone' along the border under the control of the Zionist-Isolationist alliance. The first of these aims was completely foiled by the fierce resistance of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese National Movement against the Zionist advance. For eight heroic days, the enemy was stopped here, harassed there, repulsed here and slowed there. Heavy casualties were inflicted with a minimum of losses on the Revolution's side. As a result of international pressure and outrage at the barbarity of the Israeli assault, the occupation army was soon forced to withdraw, being replaced by U.N. peacekeeping forces.

CIVILIAN POPULATION TERRORIZED

The main results of the invasion were the partial or complete destruction of 80% of villages south of the Litani river, the killing or wounding of 4,000 civilians, and the forced exodus of over 200,000 Lebanese and Palestinians. The second Zionist aim was achieved: today it has succeeded in creating an isolationist 'buffer zone' along the border which guards and furthers Zionist interests in the area. A system has been established of conscription into the rightist militias and life in this buffer zone is marked by indiscriminate arrests and expulsion of citizens suspected of anti-isolationist sympathy, occasional massacres and murders of nationalist militants and their families in the areas also occur. This fascistic repression has resulted in the exile of some 100,000 Southern Lebanese from their homes in the border region: whole towns and villages like Marjayeoun, Khiyam, Rshaf, and Marwaheen are empty of their original inhabitants; the fields are neglected, and the terror of Haddad's Army' reigns throughout the area. The latest isolationist plans speak of the construction of an airport and sea port in the region, with Israeli support of course, to further the aims of partition.

U.S. STAGES KAWKABA COMEDY

The agent role the isolationist militias have always played for Zionism and Imperialism is again illustrated in the infamous 'Kawkaba' incident. In 1978, after repeated attemps to activate the small rebuilt Lebanese Army and calls from all sectors, especially the Isolationists themselves, to hand security tasks in the South "over to the Army", just that was attempted. A small Army unit moved South, hoping to reach Tibnine where it would share security tasks with the UN forces. Since the unit had to pass through Isolationist controlled areas to reach Tibnine, the Lebanese government sought assurances from the US and Israel that the unit would not be prevented from reaching Tibnine. This was especially necessary because of the threats of Saad Haddad to shell the unit, supposedly because it was not 'truly Lebanese' (i.e. 'truly Isolationist!). Despite repeated US "assurances" and "pressure" on Israel to control the militias, the Army unit was bombed and forced to stop its advance at the town of Kawkaba. To this day it has been prevented to reach its foreseen positions.

"CHRISTIAN" DISGUISE FALLS

With the defection of a significant sector of Maronite public opinion from the 'Lebanese Front' over the year, especially that represented in Northern Lebanon by ex-President Suleiman Franjieh, the isolationists became edgy about the legitimacy of their claim to 'represent' Lebanon's Christians. Already that claim had been practically thrown to the wind by the growth over the past years of a variety of organisations representing Lebanese Christian opinion: the Grouping of Committed Christians, National Grouping of Zghortians, the Christian Grouping of the Mountains and Plains of Chouf, and a number of other nationalist groups and organisations with largely Christian constituencies. Though ideologically no leftist, Franjieh stood against cooperation with Israel and supported the unification and consolidation of the central state, always affirming Lebanon's Arab identity.

A series of 'Lebanese Front' provocations and occasional clashes with the ADF culminated in early June 1978 when a large contin-

Thousands of civilian victims

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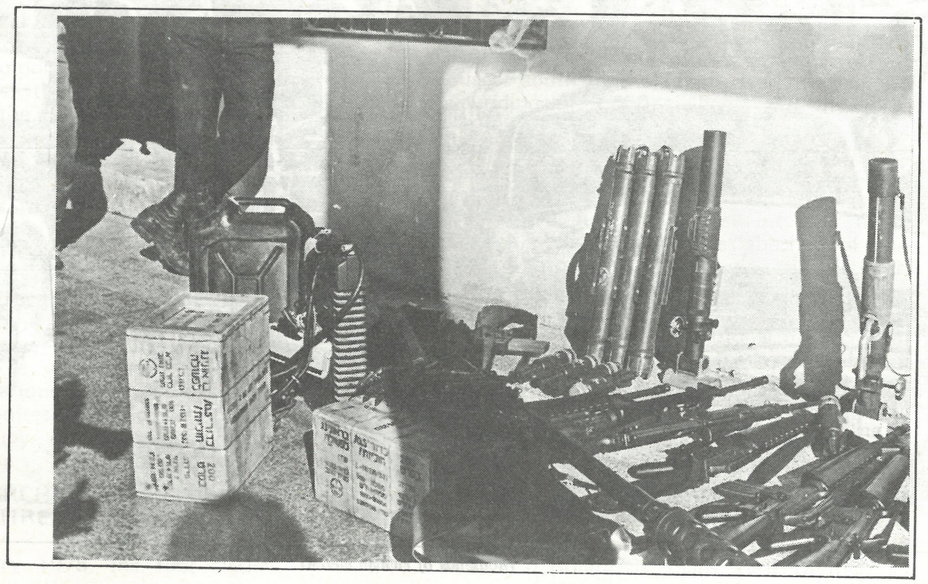
gent of Phalangists stormed the home town of Frangieh and murdered his son Tony (member of the Lebanese Parliament), his family, and a large number of villagers. This action was planned by and approved of at the highest levels within the Phalangist party, and came as an extreme rightist response to two main challenges to their own position. In the period preceding the murders, the Phalangist had been engaged in an increasingly fierce struggle with Franjieh for control of the areas of north Lebanon traditionally loyal to Franjieh. Thus the attacking force was composed of Phalangists from every village in the region, and to give it a character of a centralized operation, units from other parts of Lebanon also participated. But most important, the murders were intended as a clear strike at the presence of the ADF. By attacking those Lebanese forces which refused to be lackeys for Israel and instead supported the rebuilding of the Lebanese state, the 'Lebanese Front' was threatening to go to any and all extremes to assert itself and its determination to rule Lebanon, at least to continue ruling the area which it dominated.

Thus, when rightist provocations continued throughout July and August of the year, the response of the ADF was not as restrained as it had been in the past. With the increased ferocity of the isolationist provocations and the continued defiance of the state that eventually developed into calls for complete ADF withdrawal from Lebanon, the severity of the ADF'S response increased. Had the ADF only been faced with isolationist provocations and escalation, it would not have been difficult for it to quell such aggression. But the 'Lebanese Front' no longer worked on its own. With every new attempt by the ADF to establish and maintain security, be it in Beirut in July, or north Lebanon in August, the Zionist propaganda machine went into action, calling for an end to the supposed 'massacre' of Lebanon's Christians! This intervention of Israel attempting to prop up the isolationists, usually in the form of threats to the ADF, was a constraint on the ADF as the latter could not afford to give Israel an excuse to enter Lebanon again, thus endangering the security of the whole region.

THE CAMP DAVID SCENARIO

With Israel's desire to conclude the strategically important Camp David accords, the scenario changed: The U.S. and Israel, for the time being, could not afford another adventure in Lebanon that might jeopardize their achievements at Camp David, yet it was imperative for Israel to reassert its influence within the Lebanese areas and thus to strengthen the 'Lebanese Front' and itself. But this time, the isolationists had overbid on their Israeli card, and the Israelis had underestimated the ADF's capability to strike at the rebellious militias. Not only had the Right's incessant calls for the



Zionist subversion of Lebanon: Israeli arms for rightist militias

The Beiteddine Conference

ADF's withdrawal become embarrassing, even to President Sarkis, and its continued insubordination to the 'legitimate' state authority a serious obstacle to national unity, but the main restraint against a new, wider, and firmer disciplining of the isolationists was absent, or at least decreased.

As a result of the October fighting between the militias and the ADF, and a series of significant political developments, the 'Lebanese Front has beaten a hasty retreat, dropping many of its earlier demands. The first of these developments were the statements by prominent Western officials putting the responsibility for the fighting in Lebanon where it belonged: firmly upon the shoulders of the 'Lebanese Front'. Both U.S. Vice-President Mondale and French Foreign Minister De Guiringaud were forced to admit that the ADF was simply performing its duty in dealing with the constant provocations of the militias. More significantly, these and other statements accused Israel of complicating the tasks of re-establishing security and peace to Lebanon, through its continued flagrant support of the isolationist militia.

THE BEITEDDINE RESOLUTIONS

Hot on the heels of these international affirmations of support for the ADF'S role in Lebanon and condemnation of Israeli interference in Lebanese affairs was the Beiteddine Conference of Foreign Ministers of countries participating in the ADF. This conference consecrated the necessity for an Arab, not an international, role in Lebanon, as embodied in the ADF, and it condemned all dealings with Israel. These two points are vital prerequisites for any internal Lebanese solution to the crisis, they as decisively cut the ground out from under the "Lebanese Front's" attempts to isolate the Lebanese situation from the Arab one and threaten the Arab world with its alliance with Israel and imperialism.

Thus the 'Lebanese Front' has not only been forced to cease its calls for the ADF's withdrawal, but was also being gradually forced to renounce at least in public dealings with Israel. Such compromises are by no means made willingly by the isolationist; nor is this retreat necessarily permanent, but it has helped to create an atmosphere more amenable to internal political agreement. No doubt the isolationist forces will attempt to maintain their alliance with Israel, strengthen their contacts with more extreme right international forces, and maintain as intransigent a position within Lebanon as possible. Yet, facing increasing hostility from Lebanese Maronites, with no friends in the Arab world (except perhaps the Sadat regime!), unfavourable public opinion towards them internationally, and an alliance with Israel that is subject above all to the latter's interests (which are always liable to alter), the "Lebanese Front" has no choice but to maintain a low profile. With the continued defection of external support and the diminution of significant sector of its local power base, the weight of the battle is turning against the isolationists.

"Fascism has always been destined for defeat all over the world. It may succeed for a while, but final victory is always for freedom an democracy."

(Yasser Arafat
17 August 1976)

THE LEBANESE ARAB ARMY

Col. Mohammed Salim

INTERVIEW WITH

COLONEL MOHAMMED SALIM

Israel, and its local rightist agents, are daily increasing their terror and provocations in South Lebanon, in open disregard for Lebanese territorial integrity and state authority, as well as the mission of the UNIFIL troops there. While the Lebanese authorities for years were unable or unwilling to defend the South against the Zionist schemes of indirect and direct expansion into yet another portion of Arab territory, the Lebanese Arab Army, formed by patriotic Lebanese officers and soldiers in early 1976, took up this task, side by side with the Palestinian combattants defending South Lebanon.

"Palestine" recently visited Colonel Mohammed Salim who is at present the Chief of Staff of the Lebanese Arab Army. At his headquarters in the Nabatieh barracks he gave a brief survey of the circumstances which led to the creation of the Lebanese Arab Army, its role, its objectives and its view on current events in Lebanon and the Arab World.

Colonel Salim began by stressing that "the eruption of the civil war in Lebanon was linked with the US/Zionist conspiracy against the Arab nation. This conspiracy, which started with the disengagement agreement on the Sinai front, was mainly directed against the Palestinian people and the Palestinian revolution.

"In Lebanon, the Lebanese authorities collaborated with the Phalangists and the Chamounist gangs in order to involve the old Lebanese Army against the aspirations of the Lebanese people. At that time. Lieutenant Ahmed Al Khatib with some patriotic officers and soldiers rebelled and formed the Lebanese Arab Army. Had this not happened, the Lebanese crisis now, 3 1/2 years after the beginning of the Lebanese war, would have been much more complicated.

"Palestine: Why did you leave the Army?

Col. Salim: That army was nothing more than an armed force to preserve and protect the gains of those people in power. That army had a sectarian social structure. One sect enjoyed all prestige. Besides that, there was the clear alignment of this army on the side of the isolationist groups. That army had no combat missions on the borders or any sincere mission inside the country. Its main concern was to act as a whip at the disposal of the state to be used to suppress the masses and maintain the sectarian nature of the whole political structure of Lebanon.

Lebanese Arab Army defending South Lebanon

"Palestine": What is the relation between your presence in South Lebanon and your programme?

Col. Salim: The phenomenon of the Lebanese Arab Army was more a political than military one. Our political programme states clearly that "Lebanon is an Arab country". This means to us that Lebanon has to be Arab in its policies and to join its Arab brothers in their fate, especially the confrontation states. Lebanon has a 90 km border with Israel, so Lebanon should play a role with its brothers in their defense against the common enemy, Israel.

We came to South Lebanon in order to carry out our role of being the army of the masses, to protect the masses and to defend Lebanese territories. In principle the army has to be stationed on the border, especially along the borders occupied by the Israeli enemy and the Phalangist and Chamounist gangs which work at the disposal of the Israeli occupation authority. This fact has been confirmed both on the ground, and also been postulated by U.N. resolutions 425 and 426.

We are here in order to fulfill our commitment to join our brothers in the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution in liberating our southern occupied lands. We take part now in joint operations with our Palestinian brothers, against the Israeli troops who occupy our lands and suppress our masses.

"Palestine": How do you coordinate your activities with the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution?

Col. Salim: First and foremost, we consider ourselves as fighters for the Lebanese National Movement. We are a part of this movement. We agree with the Lebanese National Movement on Lebanon's Arabism, unity, and a balanced army. In practical terms, we struggle with the Lebanese National Movement politically and militarily. That is why we are in South Lebanon. There is no contradiction between us and the Lebanese National Movement because we consider oursel-

LEBANON

ves a shield of the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution. That is why we have stationed our troops along the borders from the coast eastwards to the Arkoub region.

Besides military activities, we have continuous if not daily meetings with the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestinian Revolution; we have military coordination, social and medical coordination, not only in South Lebnon but in the whole of Lebanon.

"Palestine": To the Lebanese Arab Army, what is meant by a "balanced army"? And how does it differ from the present regular army?

Col. Salim: Most Lebanese political leaders used the old truck, that "Lebanon's strength is in its weakness". Let us take an example, Switzerland, which is said to be a neutral country. But it has a well organized, well equipped army, and moreover, it produces modern sophisticated weaponry. They (the Lebanese politicians) want to leave Lebanon's sky, sea and land without any protection in order to allow Lebanon to be the centre for imperialist conspiracies against the Arab people. They want to keep Lebanon as a weak victim of Zionist aggression. They want to isolate Lebanon from its Arab surroundings. They used to mobilize the regular army against the Palestinian Revolution, thereby benefiting the prime enemy. When Israel invaded South Lebanon, the Lebanese authorities remained inactive pretending that South Lebanon was occupied by the Palestinian commandos, who in fact were there with the official approval of the Lebanese authorities. But the Lebanese authorities wanted to create a split between the Lebanese people and the Palestinian Revolution. This we reject completely.

We reject the present structure of the Lebanese regular army of the state as represented by President Sarkis, Foreign Minister Fuad Butros, and Victor Khoury, Commander of the Army. They want an army much worse than the former army. If the former army was a whip, they want the new army to be a sword directed against the masses. We reject this, and we call for the formation of a balanced Lebanese Arab national army, an army which is balanced nationally and not confessionally, an army which comprises patriotic Arab elements who have a deep belief in the Arab nation and its unity. We want an army which supports the Palestinian revolution, an army which is really Arab, sharing with its brother Arab armies in their destiny, an army which believes that Lebanon is only a part of the Arab World and that there are things that exist beyond the present Lebanese border.

The present Lebanese army is commanded by fanatical sectarian anti-Arabs. The Chief of Staff cannot visit the Ministry of Defence without being with the Commander of the Army. It is a pity. They carry out brain washing operations and anti-patriotic and anti-Arab programs. I am sorry to say, that they consider Israel an ally. This is not only done by the Phalangist and Chamounist gangs, but even by the authorities themselves. In this context, we say that the leadership of a balanced army should be assigned to officers who are of patriotic qualifications. The army should be built on Arab national capacities and beliefs. Here I want to point out that we were the first to put ourselves at the disposal of President Sarkis hoping that he would take into consideration the two-year events (60,000 dead, 200,000 wounded). But Sarkis proved that he doesn't differ from others, and perhaps he is worse due to his weakness and his surrender to the Lebanese Front.

I think that such an army cannot be established within the present social, political and military structure. The problem is not the individuals but in the prevailing mentality. In this confessional structure (17 sects), a person pays more attention to his sect than to his country, for his sectarian identity has provided him with his position in life, and not his capabilities or talents.

"Palestine": Much has been said about Lebanese reconciliation. Are there any terms to achieve this?

Col. Salim: Lebanon is a part of the Arab World; no Lebanese reconciliation can be achieved in isolation from the crisis in the Arab World. What is taking place in Lebanon now is just a part of the greater conspiracy against the Arab World and the Palestinian cause which is the core of the Middle East crisis.

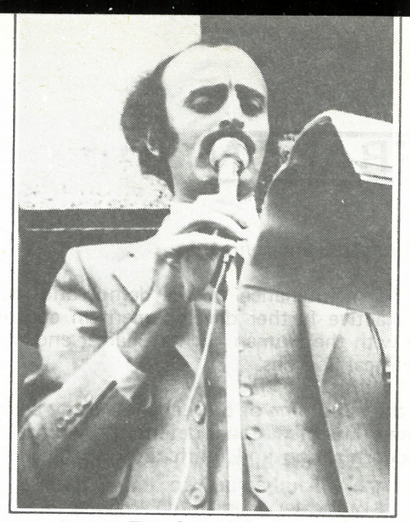
As far as we are concerned we fight with the Palestinian Revolution in one trench and we believe that the Palestinian Revolution is defending Arab rights. The Palestinian Revolution is an Arab revolution, its objectives are our objectives. Together we fight the same enemy, we are struggling in support of the Palestinian Revolution.

So let the so-called "Lebanese Front" admit the Palestinians' legal right to liberate their occupied homeland and launch their operations from all Arab borders surrounding Israel. Some believe that Lebanon has to be isolated and have nothing to do with the Arabs except to benefit from them as much as possible. They do their best to evade sharing responsibilities with their Arab brothers, using false pretexts. I think we can achieve a lot if the so-called "Lebanese Front" severs its relations with the US-Israeli plots and stops playing the role of agent in return for a few dollars. They have to be convicted that the Lebanese crisis is inseparable from the Middle East crisis and that Lebanon is more than a tourist resort and a service centre, that first and foremost Lebanon is an Arab country.

"Palestine": So, what do you expect, in view of the Camp David agreements and what followed, especially since you have mentioned that the Lebanon crisis is inseparable from the Middle East crisis?

Col. Salim: In fact, our rebellion was a direct response to the US-Israeli-Arab reactionary conspiracy to liquidate the Palestinian factor which was and still is a difficult nut to crack. The US-Zionist sponsored conspiracy which started with the separate disengagement agreement between Israel and the Sadat regime was directed against the whole Arab nation and the Palestinian revolution in particular. We formed the Lebanese Arab Army in order to be an impenetrable shield for the Palestinian Revolution to make the Palestinian factor even harder and stronger.

The Carter-Begin-Sadat meetings were not intended for Sinai only but in order to create an unholy alliance directed against the Palestinian Revolution in an attempt to minimize or liquidate it, and against the Arab states rejecting the Sadat capitulationist approach. So we think that the conspiracies will be intensified, but we are sure they will only result in complete failure."



Walid Jumblatt

"FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY TO FACE THE PLOT"

INTERVIEW WITH WALID JUMBLATT

On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, Walid Jumblatt, head of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, and a leading member of the politbureau of the Lebanese National Movement, gave the following statement to *"Palestine."*

Question: You have repeatedly declared your readiness for a dialogue aiming at a Lebanese national entente. Do you believe, such a dialogue is possible at the present stage, and what would be the conditions for it?

Walid Jumblatt: "We consider dialogue to be the only valuable means which would allow the Lebanese political forces to pave the way for the reconstruction of a unitary Lebanese state.

The question whether such a dialogue is possible at the present stage, depends, according to our views, on constructive proposals that could be formulated by the authorities. Consequently, the responsibilities of the existing forces should be engaged with the aim to bring about the realization of the following principles:

a) to safeguard the unity of the country and the rejection of any formula which would directly or indirectly lead to the partition of Lebanon;

b) the teritorial integrity of Lebanon, its independence and the affirmation of its being a

part of its Arab environment;

c) the maintenance of the democratic regime, its active further developement in conformance with the Human Rights Charter and civil and political liberties.

d) the rebuilding of the Lebanese army based on a new law of national defense providing for the modernization and unification of this institution."

Question: The Zionist - imperialist plot directed against the Palestinian people and the Arab people in general, and intensified after "Camp David", aims at the re-settlement of the Palestinians in Arab countries especially in Lebanon. The Lebanese rightist forces, while always claiming their opposition to the implantation of the Palestinians in Lebanon, in fact are acting as the most compliant agents on behalf of the implanation plot. How do you explain this self-contradiction?

Walid Jumblatt: "This inconsequence is related to the fact that the Lebanese right not only rejects the implantation of the Palestinians in Lebanon but refuses their very existence on Lebanese territory; compelling evidence is their repeated call for the "redistribution" of the Palestinians throughout the other Arab countries."

Question: What is your response to those blaming the Palestinians for the events in Lebanon?

Walid Jumblatt: "Since 1967, the imperialist plot, envisaging the destruction of Lebanese national unity, worked to prevent the rise of the progressive forces which are allied with the Palestinian people in its national struggle. The Lebanese Right, in order to counter the democratic forces, took the Palestinian presence in Lebanon as a pretext to trigger off the civil war."

Question: How can you in general characterise the relations between the Lebanese progressive and national forces and the Palestinian Resistance?

Walid Jumblatt: "We believe that the common struggle of the Lebanese national and progressive forces and the Palestinian Resistance are characterised by fraternal solidarity and mutual support to confront the imperialist plot. We believe that even more direct cooperation should be developed between both sides."

THE ORGANIZATION OF LEBANESE DEMOCRATIC CHRISTIANS

by Dr. Michel Ghorayeb

The following statement was given to "Palestine" by Dr. Michel Ghorayeb, spokesman of the "Organization of Democratic Christians" of Lebanon.

"Since the beginning, in April 1975, of the Lebanese civil war, which should have set the people against their feudal oppressors, the Maronite aristocracy has wanted to give it a confessional character, in order to escape its consequences. This war should have been a class struggle, similar to those characteristic of our present era in several regions of the world (such as Iran, Afghanistan or Rhodesia).

"The bosses of the Maronite community, who alone enjoy the political privileges laid down by the 1943 National Pact, have launched a false crusade against their Muslim fellow-citizens, and have claimed that they represent all the Christians of Lebanon. Whereas in fact, they represent only a minority of the Christians, not more than 10%. Before this monstrous lie which the pro-Zionist information media have propagated in the world, we were compelled in 1977 to found the Democratic Christians' Organization. It certainly represents a much broader Lebanese public opinion than that of the Lebanese Phalangists and their allies (Chamoun's Liberals and a monks' party headed by Charbel Kassis).

"Briefly, our principles can be summed up as follows:

Michel Ghorayeb

1 – LEBANON'S ARAB NATIONALITY

"Politically: The Arab nation is at present dissected into several states, as a result of foreign colonialist policy and local feudalism, as much hereditary as it is capitalist. This imperialist influence continued in various ways, economically, culturally, politically and militarily.

"Historically: Lebanon has been deeply rooted in the Arab nationality, since the dawn of recorded history. It forms part of the long Syrian coastline which now includes Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, and which the Phoenicians have inhabited since 3,000 B.C. However, the Phoenicians were in fact an Arab people who migrated from the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula. The towns which they established on the Lebanese coast bear the same names as other towns which still exist on the Arabian coast.

"Lebanon's history is the same as that of its natural Syro-Arab surroundings.

"Linguistically: The sharing of a common language is at the forefront of the factors which constitute nationhood. The Arabic language is the language of all the Arab states, including Lebanon. Lebanese from all religious sects have contributed to the propagation and revival of the Arabic language, the revelation of its beauties, its development and enrichment in poetry, prose, translation and the press.

"Economically: The Arab World is made out of a long chain of geographically contiguous regions, which complement each other economically. This is not only due to its wide geographical extent, but also to its varied climatic, agricultural and strategic character.

2 – SECULARISATION OF THE STATE

"Arab nationality, in which the Democratic Christians' Organisation believes, is a secular nationality which respects all creeds and separates religion from the state.

"Complete secularisation, which includes the administration, politics and a common civil state law, is the desired aim. It seems, however, that civil marriage still wrongly arouses protests from those who consider it contrary to religion. It would therefore be wise to be content with administrative and political secularisation in a transitional and gradual manner.

3 – SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

Whoever believes in Arab nationality undoubtedly believes in the Palestinian people's right to struggle to regain their usurped homeland.

Israel is an artificial state which Anglo-American imperialis planted on our land in violation of the principles of international law.

Furthermore, Israel has persisted in refusing and ignoring all the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council.

"The Democratic Christians' unconditional support for the Palestinian people derives from their faith in Lebanon's Arab character and its common destiny with the whole of the Arab nation. It also represents a total commitment to the abovementioned principles and decisions as well as the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence."

WORLD LIBERATION MOVEMENT

"Every inhabitant is a heroic combatant, every village, every commune, every quarter of a city is a fortress, every co-operative, every factory is a logistical base for the people's war, transforming the country into a unified battle front to annihilate every aggressor."

Ho Chi Minh.

1978 was characterised by the imperialist counter-offensive on the traditional fronts. It witnessed the Egyptian-Israeli separate negotiations, under the patronage of the United States, and the two Camp David agreements in the Middle East. In Southern Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have not yet arrived at the awaited outcome, namely national independence in comformity with the rights of original peoples and the United Nations recommendations. On the contrary, the racist authorities, together with the Western countries, are seeking by any means to impose the so-called "internal settlement" which is nothing more than a modified version of occupation.

US imperialism still is applying the "step-by-step" approach initiated by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and extending it to other regions. This readjustment of American foreign policy should be seen in a post-Vietnam and post-Angola context. It becomes apparent from this that imperialism has come to prefer intervening through stooges and collaborators: Sadat in the Middle East, Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau in Zimbabwe.

"ABSTRACT ASPIRATIONS" AND REALITY

However, a new aspect of US foreign policy is the "defence of Human Rights", for which the Carter administration has proclaimed itself the herald. Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Adviser and a fanatical partisan of the cold war, declared at the beginning of December that American foreign policy "rests on the principle of respect for the abstract aspirations of man for freedom and self-determination. This is the meaning of our position in the realm of human rights." These propositions are indicative of the whole American conception of human rights to serve a mystifying policy.

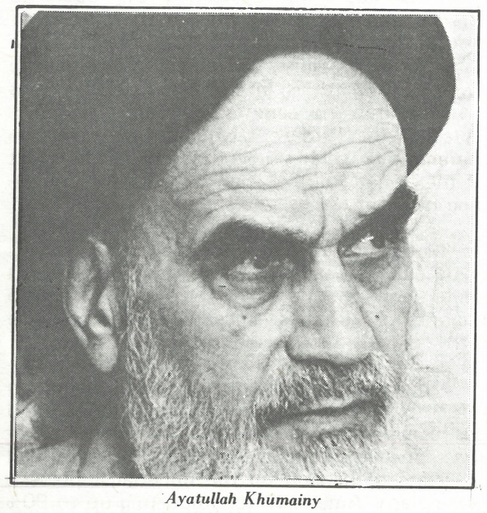
The aspirations of peoples suffering under the yoke of occupation do not derive from an abstract hypothesis but from concrete realities. They do not fight in order to end up in some ghetto nicknamed "autonomous administration" or "Bantustan", but in order to establish a state that is genuinely independent, where they will be able to exercise their most fundamental rights, not abstract rights but those relating to land, employment and a life of dignity.

The peoples on the traditional fronts have replied to the manoeuvres of imperialism and its local instruments with the most categorical rejection and the resurgence of armed struggle.

In South Africa, the bastion of white domination, strikes and demonstrations have increased. Faithful to their secular tradition of barbarism, the South African colonists have acted repressively. The Johannesburg authorities seem more determined than ever to drown all opposition by the original population in blood. The Soweto uprisings constitute a definite psychological victory for the Azanian patriots against the white colonial regime. But they also show the limits of purely political struggle against an enemy armed to the teeth, and the necessity of preparing oneself for armed struggle.

Finally, 1978 witnessed the rule of two notorious bloody dictators and two fortresses of the US sphere of influence tremble, namely the Shah of Iran and Somoza of Nicaragua (see the following interviews with Ayatullah Khumainy and Comrade Bayardo Arce).

IRAN:



Ayatullah Khumainy

"UNTIL THE TYRANNICAL RULE IS OVERTHROWN"

"PALESTINE" EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH AYATULLAH KHUMAINY

All observers throughout the world following the mass uprising in Iran, through the massive flow of news, photographs and newsreels which the world media provide daily, have noticed that Imam Khumainy's photograph was always carried by the angry masses. It is the photograph of a respected elder, whose features express seriousness and determination, a picture whose image expresses the vision of the great personalities and heroes of early Islam.

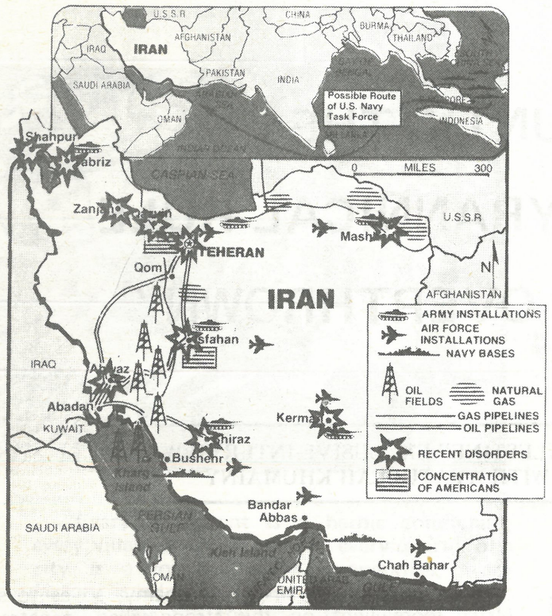
No doubt everyone was surprised by this historic personality and felt admiration for him: a man who could move and guide millions of Iranians and rouse them to revolt to oust the Shah and overthrow his regime. Everybody was astonished at the warmth of the relationship between the Imam and the masses in Iran despite the long distance which separated them, and the demonstrators' enthusiasm and responsiveness in carrying out the instructions and demands of this revolutionary Imam, who is continuing his activities from distant exile with his aides.

In the village of Neauphle-le-Château near Paris, the Imam's house was a hive of activity, with dozens of reporters and television and cinema cameramen, as well as scores of Iranian citizens from all walks of life: students, Shaikhs, intellectuals and others. We came with questions for Imam Khumainy, so as to shed more light on this strong-willed, penetrating personality and his course of struggle which rejects compromise and bargains, so as to perceive through his answers his experience and his skill in inspiring the aims and means to struggle from the events of modern and ancient history.

Question: Reverend Imam, there is no doubt that your long life has been filled with varied experiences and interacting events. At the same time millions of Iran's masses are responding to your campaign directives. We would like you to shed light on the most important highlights of these historic experiences and their effects, which have crystallised the line of struggle to which you are now committed.

Imam Khumainy: "First of all, I must clarify an important point, namely, the present popular uprising in Iran is 100% Islamic. Its aims and course of struggle are inspired by Islam. If the Iranian people reject compromise with the treacherous Shah, it is because Islam does not allow such a compromise and does not give tyrants the right to rule the people. The monarchy in Iran is imposed by force and is not based on the opinions of the masses. The government of this system is tyrannical and Islam forbids obedience to such a government and calls on us to struggle and work to overthrow it.

IRAN:



Imam Khumainy: "After years of thought and consultation with his foreign friends, the Shah drew up a plan which, on the one hand, would be a means whereby he could exploit Iran's wealth for the benefit of himself personally, his family and his partners in the imperialist countries, and on the other hand would serve as a suitable basis for the suppression of any popular revolution or uprising in Iran. He launched the agrarian reform project in the hope of subjugating the poor peasants and dispossessed people and subsequently mobilising them against opponents of the regime, by making them believe that they were landowners or that he was helping them.

"The agrarian reform question was the climax of the Iranian people's tragedy, in addition to the so-called question of women's freedom and the other laws connected with the 'White Revolution', each of which had its specific degrading role. What was the result of all this?

"The Iranian peasant became increasingly poor and destitute, since he had come under the grip of the large feudalists after the implementation of the so-called Agrarian Reform Law. This created peasant migration and directed it towards the cities in search of a living. The Shah and his agents benefited from this cheap labour, and he opened the doors to foreign and local capitalists, on the pretext of industrialising the country. We note that the same large feudalists have now become the owners of factories in the cities. That means that the Iranian peasant who before was subjected to the feudalist's whip is now subject to the employer's whip, and today he is the target of the bullets of the Shah's agents for demanding his rights.

"Matters reached the point of some villagers being expelled at bayonet point and their lands being confiscated, so that they were forced to migrate to the cities, since these peasants were satisfied with owning some cultivable lands.

"Thus the Shah did not achieve agrarian reform, but he did fulfill the interests and desires of America and other imperialist countries, since the outcome of these "reforms" led the state to depend on the imperialist powers, particularly American, for importing up to 90% of its foodstuffs.

"The Shah's agents have claimed that the men of religion oppose the regime because their lands were confiscated. What lands? What religious scholars were landowners or feudalists? The religious scholars' standard of living was and still is the same as that ordinary people, on a very simple level. Does their way of life need these lands? These lies have now been exposed to the masses."

Q.: Can you explain to us the nature of so-called "women's freedom" propagated by the Shah regime?

Imam Khumainy: "The ramifications of the Shah's treason are not confined to the economic sphere, but extend also to the social sphere. He talks about freedom for women, but what women is he talking about?

We see that the women who are demanding their human rights, and who constitute the overwhelming majority in Iran, are struggling today against the Shah's rule and demanding his overthrow. They all know that 'freedom for women' according to the Shah's logic means their degradation from human status to be used as a tool or a machine. Women's emancipation according to the Shah's logic means filling the prisons with Iranian women who reject his moral depravity.

Q.: We note that one of the slogans which

"Exploiting Iran's wealth for the personal benefit of the Shah and his partners in the imperialist countries"

the masses are raising these days in the streets of Iran's cities, and which you also reiterate, is: "The traitors are those who seek compromises" *(Le Monde,* 13/12/1978). Could you tell us about the content and implications of this slogan?

Imam Khumainy: "Compromise with the Shah means a settlement with a tyrannical traitor. Of course, to compromise with such a traitor would be regarded as treason by the Iranian people and the Islamic religion. I have explained before the reason why I reject compromise solutions."

Q.: Would you please outline some of the main features of the independent Islamic Republic for whose establishment you are calling in Iran, as well as the future of relations with the two major powers?

Imam Khumainy: "The constitution governing the society of the Islamic Republic in Iran will be an Islamic constitution. The structure of this system would be based on the views of the people. The Islamic Republic's relations with states will be based on the principle of mutual respect. That is, we would not accept oppression by anyone, nor would we impose oppression on anyone.

Q.: What would your attitudes be towards Israel after the overthrow of the Shah's regime and the establishment of the Islami c state? Will there be relations with it similar to those the Shah has today?

Imam Khumainy: "There will be no form of relations with Israel, and we shall refuse to supply it with a single drop of oil."

"Struggle in Islam starts from the minimum premise of abstaining from wrongdoing, that is to display aversion and condemnation towards a tyrant. It goes beyond that to the point of combat and declaring war until the tyrannical ruler is crushed and the government of Islamic justice is established. If the Iranian people are struggling today also against foreign control and tutelage, it is because Islam urges this and calls for independence of opinion and decision and not giving foreigners any right to interfere in our internal affairs.

"The most important experience from which we can demonstrate the ugly aspects and evils of the monarchy was the rule of Reza Khan (the Shah's father), who was imposed by the colonial powers on the Iranian people in disregard of the wishes and demands of the masses. The advent of Reza Khan to power in Iran violated three fundamental Islamic principles:

1 — The principle of justice as a characteristic of an Islamic ruler;

2 — Freedom of opinion for the Muslims to appoint the ruler and enjoy self-determination;

3 — The independence of the Islamic state and its protection from foreign interference.

"Because the Iranian people did not resist when Reza Khan came to power, or struggle to revive and consolidate these three principles, corruption increased and tyranny and oppression spread everywhere over all sectors of the people.

"After the fall of Reza Khan came Muhammad Reza Khan (the present Shah), who assumed power in disregard of these principles. Because at the beginning of his reign he did not have sufficient power to control the government, he responded partially to some of the aspirations of the Iranian people, who had

IRAN:

"The Iranian people rejects compromise with the tyrannical rule"

been downtrodden in his father's reign. When things went his way and he gained complete control over the country, he committed more crimes and atrocities than his father did.

"If the opponents of the Shah had adopted these three principles when he fled 25 years ago, he would not have succeeded in returning to power nor would this corruption and oppression have continued. The fact is that the Shah, throughout these 25 years and particularly in the last 15 years, has committed crimes which outweigh those of the Mongols and Genghis Khan. Words are inadequate to express these tragedies."

Q.: In 1948, Palestine was seized and the Zionist dream was achieved with the collaboration of the major colonial powers. What effect did this disaster have on the masses in Iran at that time, and how did they react?

Imam Khumainy: "It must be said that the seizure of Palestine by the Zionists, with the help of the major colonial powers, was a painful, tragic catastrophe for all Muslims, including the Iranian people. The Iranian people in 1948 (contrary to the Shah and the state) felt, as a result of their deep Islamic sentiment, that the seizure of Palestine was tantamount to amputating a part of their body. In spite of the Shah's help to Israel, the Iranian people expressed their sincerest and deepest feelings and attitudes towards the Palestinian freedom fighters. For more than 15 years I have been denouncing and condemning the Shah's help to Israel. There are many sectors of the Iranian people, men of religion and others, who have been subjected to imprisonment and torture because of their firm attitude in protesting against Israel's acts of aggression. We always defend Palestine, to the limits of our ability."

Q.: Doubtless the experience of Mossadegh has compelled everyone to discover the causes of its failure, and has consequently forced various political currents to change their methods of struggle. Please could you explain to us the lessons you have drawn from that experience which have helped you to establish the confidence and warm links between you and the masses?

Imam Khumainy: "I am always opposed to flexible methods. The Shah cannot remain in power by any means, and we have to work to overthrow him."

Q.: The Palestinian Revolution, as you know, was launched on 1 January 1965, and its firmness and its scope increased after the 1967 defeat. Did news of it reach the Iranian people? If so, how, and what were the reactions of the Iranian masses?

Imam Khumainy: "Yes, news reached the Iranian people through the news media as in other countries, but the Shah's regime always deliberately published this news in such a way as to serve the enemy and harm the Arab peoples' reputation, and always used to describe the Arabs as lacking understanding and consciousness.

"The Iranian regime is undoubtedly one of the greatest supporters of the Zionist entity, and the official and unofficial news media in Iran, being all subject to the Shah's pressures, work to serve Israel in publishing the news. We were the first to oppose those misleading programmes and methods of conveying and presenting news to the Iranian people."

Q.: In the 1960s, the Shah proclaimed the so-called "White Revolution" of agrarian reform and social changes. Would you please explain the truth about this farce, particularly since some Western news media like *Paris Match* are claiming these days that one of the reasons for the religious men's revolution is their hatred of the Shah because he confiscated their land and applied the system of the "White Revolution" against them?

NICARAGUA:

"THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF MASSACRING OUR PEOPLE"

INTERVIEW WITH BAYARDO ARCE,
MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL COMMAND
OF THE SANDINISTS NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (SNLF)

Q.: Comrade Bayardo Arce, could you please describe the bloody events in Nicaragua and tell us what you think of the situation as it is now?

A: The recent events to which you refer represent an attempt by the democratic forces of our country to resolve the acute crisis which the latter is facing and which is unprecedented in its history. The most brutal expression of this crisis is the Somoza dictatorship.

We had anticipated that the Nicaraguans could overthrow the immediate enemy of our people as a matter of principle, Somoza, through the revolutionary movement. The uprising was unquestionably a political victory for the forces opposed to the dictatorship, although it did not for the moment achieve the aim we had set ourselves, namely the overthrow of Somoza. But one can regard it as having paved the way for the dictator's downfall.

The crisis in Nicaragua continues. The situation is even becoming more explosive day by day. This is primarily due to the economic bankruptcy which has been particularly serious in recent months. There is no sign of a solution to the country's economic problems. Furthermore, the dictatorship is adamantly against the formation of a government which would show even slight concern for our people's interests and needs.

In the last few months, employees of the economic sectors have taken a massive part in the struggles which the Nicaraguan people are waging. The business economy was particularly badly hit. Unemployment and economic stagnation are at present preventing the achievement of a political solution in Nicaragua.

These struggles, these efforts by all the forces of the country – since the dictatorship is virtually alone with its arms, alone with its National Guard – had the effect of intensifying the general resentment and making the rejection of the dictatorship irreversible. Popular anger has attained such a scale that it would be difficult to find a single section of the population ready to consider reconciliation with the dictatorship.

NICARAGUA:

U.S. capital and Israeli arms: The Somoza regime

The crisis is not only continuing but also gaining in intensity. As I told you, the way is paved for the downfall of the dictatorship; even more, it has now been better defined by the recent experiences of struggle. We hope the forces opposed to the dictatorship, particularly the revolutionary forces, will know how to profit from it. We hope above all that they will learn from our limitations and mistakes in order to bring an end to the Somoza distatorship.

Q: All over the world, there is a great movement of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. Do you think this solidarity is effective in its present form? If not, how should it express itself in order to become so?

A: What we Nicaraguans and Sandinist revolutionaries hope is for the solidarity with our struggle expressed by the world to be translated into something concrete, that people should not be satisfied with emotional solidarity. We recognise the deep significance and importance of identification with our struggle and the denunciation of the dictatorship's horrifying crimes against our people and our country. However, this type of solidarity is not enough when one takes into consideration the difficulties we are facing. To sum up in a few words the message we would like to address to the world regarding the solidarity we need, we would call out loud and clear: "Arms! They are in the process of massacring us! " Yes, the people of Sandino's country, the people of Nicaragua are in urgent need of arms. It has been demonstrated in these last few years, notably in 1978, that the Nicaraguan people are moved by the unbreakable desire to free themselves, and the full participation of the Sandinists in the revolutionary struggle, is a fact. If we have not succeeded in getting rid of Somoza, it is not from lack of the will to fight, but because we do not have arms. We must have them, in enough quantity and of the right quality. The popular resistance in our country has been waged practically with shotguns and other low-calibre weapons. Supplies and ammunition also ran short, which compelled us, for instance, to abandon certain positions of resistance after only three, four or five days of combat.

The dictatorship was established in Nicaragua in 1934. The popular struggle has thus been going on for 44 years. The present uprising is merely the exasperated expression of the Nicaraguan people's will. After so many years of ordeals and attempts to overcome them, they have reached a phase of great political maturity which is embodied in the uniting of all the political and popular forces and organisations around a common principle: the overthrow of Somoza and the establishment of a democratic regime in Nicaragua. Admittedly, we have not yet found the ideal means of unification and co-ordination. But the essential thing now is that we have found each other side by side to fight the same enemy.

I have said just now that we are in urgent need of arms. But to conduct a struggle like ours properly, we also need means of communication, economic aid and medicines, particularly certain medicines whose sale the dictatorship is controlling tightly with the aim of breaking the revolutionary movement through illnesses that are widespread in the mountains. We need medicines to combat what is known here as "mountain leprosy" which is endemic in the mountain areas of our country. Apart from the resistance fighters, the peasants are afflicted. Until very recently, the regime was not in the least concerned, since the peasants' health did not interest it. Sandinists, those who go into the country areas either to fight or to train the people's revolutionary army, frequently catch this disease.

It was only after some epidemics that the government felt obliged to import medicines, being careful not to allow them to be sold freely. It is in fact impossible to find these medicines at chemists in our country. "Repodal", "Faodina" and "Camoral" (the scientific name for "Camoral" is "Neo-Antimosan") are the names of the medicines we know which give positive results in treating this disease.

We also need plasma, antibiotics, vitamins and hemostatic drugs. The struggle we are waging is a particularly bloody one. We are seeking the minimum medical requirements to be able to cope with the situation.

There are many of our comrades who at this very moment are receiving less than inadequate care. The National Guard has launched a real war of genocide against the revolutionaries, forcing whole populations, and doctors with them, to flee their towns and villages. In some cases, doctors who helped the revolutionary movement have been found dead. For example, at Esteli, Dr. Manuel Manguia was murdered. He was Director of the Santa Marta Clinic and was known for his anti-Somoza views and his links with the People's Committees organised at Esteli some months before the uprising. Other doctors at Esteli have had to seek political asylum elsewhere, because it was no longer safe for them. This exodus left our wounded in a catastrophic situation, which we are trying to remedy with the limited means at our disposal.

Q: What is the SNLF's position with regard to the so-called "mediation" undertaken by certain countries, notably the United States, and some anti-Somoza organisations?

A: Our movement, the SNLF, does not accept and even strongly condemns disguised imperialist intervention. We are referring here to the so-called mediation by the OAS (Organisation of American States) which, to us as well as to all other revolutionaries of the continent, is no more than the US' Colonial Ministry. Even the dictator Somoza has agreed to the proposals of the last OAS meeting. The special envoys of American imperialism, our main enemy, have

National Guardsmen terrorizing civilians

NICARAGUA:

come to Nicaragua to organise the charade of "persuading" the tyrant Anastasio Somoza to accept the American proposals and, if he needs it, to reassure him by the presence of the United States among the "mediators" who are in fact seeking ways to come to the Somoza dictatorship's rescue.

Somoza's ambitions are built on the corpses of thousands of Nicaraguans, the victims of torture and other forms of oppression. Now that his reign is nearing its end, he knows it and the whole world knows it.

Bearing in mind the strategy of struggle that we have adopted, which is that of long-term people's war, we are trying to lay the foundations that will enable our people to free themselves from US imperialist domination. What is going on at present merely confirms this domination, whether directly by the United States or through organisations working for it like the OAS. These manoeuvres apply not only to the American continent, but also extend to other regions in other forms.

US imperialism sets itself up as the "supervisor" of the pacification process in our country, while trying to moderate its negative image.

Mediation has also been undertaken by some anti-Somoza organisations. I would like to clarify, with regard to the FAO's mediation, that we never asked it to take such an initiative. The Church, to register its unequivocal disapproval of the genocide committed against our people, and a private commercial association asked the organisation to intervene. The Church could no longer remain silent in the face of the dictator Somoza's crimes, of which the Nicaraguans are the victims. It was natural for it to appeal for help. We believe the FAO's mediation does not conform to the aims of US imperialism. And we hope that all anti-Somoza forces will continue to adopt an honourable and unified position in the present phase of our struggle.

As far as we are concerned, we will not give up armed revolutionary struggle until the establishment of a government which has the people's confidence and responds to their interests and aspirations. To be specific, we are convinced that there is only one way to secure change in Nicaragua. This way has two aspects. First of all we have to get rid of Somoza and confiscate his property, which he has accumulated at our people's expense. His personal fortune would form an initial fund to initiate the process of change to the people's benefit. Secondly, we must dismantle Somoza's army, carry out a purge among the officers and radically restructure the National Guard.

As long as these goals have not been achieved, the SNLF will continue the struggle. We have pledged to look after the Nicaraguan people's interests, and we shall do so whatever the sacrifices we may still have to offer.

SOME POINTS IN THE PROGRAMME OF THE UNIFIED PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT AROUND A POLITICAL PROGRAMME

The Unified People's Movement (UPM) gathers political and trade unions, revolutionary organisations, the working class, the peasants, the national petty bourgeoisie and other sectors exploited and oppressed by capitalism.

These allied forces have a common aim, namely national independence and the social emancipation of all the country's labouring classes. They agree on the prime need to overthrow the dictator Somoza in order to achieve this. The historic task devolving on them, therefore, is to bring down the tyranny and form a government which will carry out this programme.

The UPM considers that the decisive factor in transforming the economic, social, political and cultural structures of Nicaragua is the unity of national forces. Nevertheless, it insists that this unity be flexible, in view of the fact that the forces of which it is made up do not necessarily share the same historic political aims. It implies no restriction on their political autonomy.

Government

The UPM proposes to form a national unity government consisting of all the organisations taking part in the liberation of Nicaragua from the economic dependence and underdevelopment maintained by the dictatorship and its allies.

This government will abolish all repressive measures. It will achieve the fundamental rights of human beings and citizens:

1) Freedom of speech and the press;
2) Freedom for political, trade union, cultural, sporting and other organisations;
3) Freedom of movement and work;
4) Freedom of religion.

The Economy

In order to rescue the country from economic stagnation and encourage development, the UPM government would adopt the following measures:

1) Confiscation of the properties of the Somoza monopolist group, including the Somoza family and its local and foreign partners;
2) Expropriation and nationalisation of all natural resources and the companies which exploit them and the establishment of state organisations to ensure the rational use of these resources in accordance with the people's interests;
3) Expropriation and nationalisation of all land, air and sea transport companies;
4) Price controls for essential commodities and an end to speculation in commodities that are vital for national development;
5) The drawing up of a national economic plan aimed at co-ordinating private and public sector activities, in order to meet the socio-economic needs of all Nicaraguans.

Finance

Four measures are required in the financial field:

1) A total restructuring of direct and indirect taxation and the abolition of directly imposed taxes on essential commodities and those related to educational, medical, sporting, cultural and recreational activities;
2) Nationalisation of the local and foreign banking systems and the regulation of private sector financial transactions;
3) The revision of foreign loans;
4) The establishment of economic relations with any country in accordance with favourable conditions and regardless of the ideological factor;

The UPM programme also envisages measures in the industrial, commercial and agricultural fields.

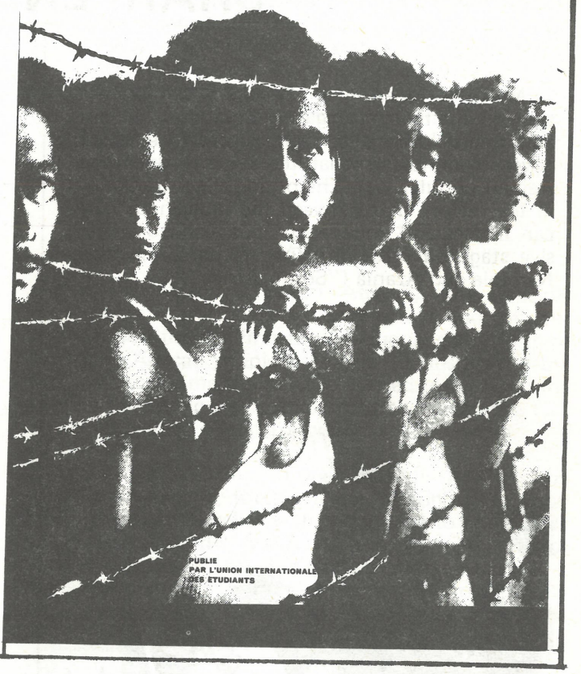
Agriculture

On the agricultural level, it lays emphasis on agrarian reform which would consist of a redistribution of lands and the production of essential commodities.

The government will set in motion a system of state financing designed to facilitate loans with a view to increasing agricultural production. Technical assistance will be provided to small peasants to enable them to boost their production and provide adequately for their families' needs.

21 FEBRUARY: INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE AND STUDENTS OF NICARAGUA

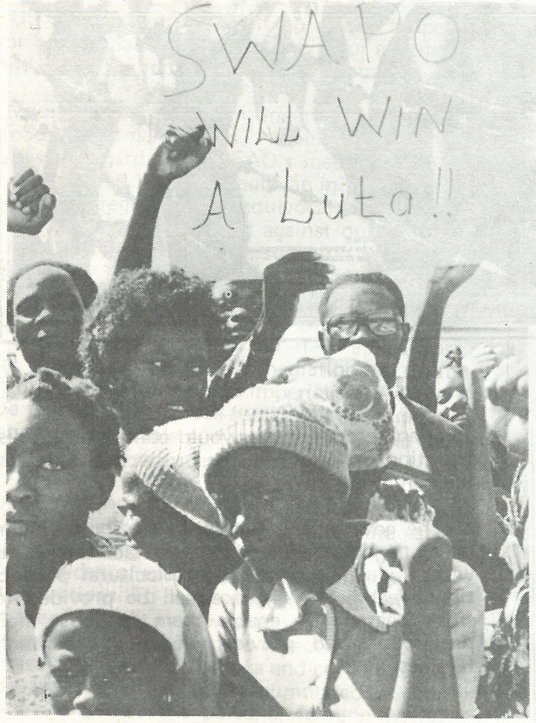
FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!



ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, AZANIA:

THE CONFLICTS SHARPEN

Militant forces in all Southern Africa have stepped up their struggle to liquidate the remnant white colonialist regimes and to establish governments of national liberation through protracted popular war. The principal contradiction in the region, that between the indigenous African masses and imperialism, has reached a decisive stage on three principle fronts: Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania ("South Africa").



ZIMBABWE

The so-called internal settlement signed on March 3 by the rebel Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith and Bishop Muszorewa, Sithole and Chief Chirau, has failed to such an extent that even the signatories have admitted their doubts as to its future viability.

Ian Smith's new campaign to win over world opinion under the banner of "one-man, one-vote within a year" has also proved to be futile. In the text of the proposal, Clause 1 states clearly that Rhodesia's 270,000 whites, most of whom were not even born in Zimbabwe, will vote for 20 of their parliament's 100 seats, while the country's 6.8 millions indigenous Africans will vote for the other 80 seats. Simple arithmetic shows that "one-man, one-vote" is actually "one African, one vote; one white, seven votes."

Moreover, Clause 1d of the same section of the 'proposal' states that the period of continued white power is to be at least 10 years and only will be changed if "a government commission recommends it."

Naturally this proposal has been rejected by the Patriotic Front and all African countries. Ian Smith and company, in the face of mounting opposition, have resorted to terrorism and a war of genocide against refugee bases in Mozambique and Zambia.

The US and Britain, sponsors of the Anglo-American "peace proposals" for Zimbabwe, behind the screen of hypocrisy, have been supplying oil and arms to maintain Ian Smith's regime. The British government, playing the role of a "peace broker" in its own colony, had its duplicity exposed when the news became public that British Petroleum and Shell have been provisioning Smith's war machine with oil in violation of all international resolutions.

For its part, the US has been supplying the Smith regime with military hardware, including eleven Huey helicopters. Despite US efforts to cover up the scandal, the Rhodesian government declared on 15 December 1978 that it had secured US-designed Bell helicopters to use against guerilla forces.

In the face of all these conspiracies, the Patriotic Front has declared its intention to find a peaceful solution if Britain accepts one-man, one-vote in Zimbabwe without any conditions or reservations. In the absence of any genuine response, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), operating from bases in neighboring countries and rural areas, is closing in on all white colonial settlements and cities.

The recent attack on Rhodesia's biggest known fuel storage depot by ZIPRA, which set

South African occupation forces in Namibia (with French Panhards)

ablaze millions of gallons of petrol, demonstrate's ZIPRA's ability to bring down by force the white supremacist Smith regime.

NAMIBIA

The Zimbabwean people's struggle is being coordinated with that of the Namibian people. In Namibia, where South Africa's illegal occupation persists, the struggle has reached a level where it seriously threatens the minority regime there. SWAPO, the South West African People's Organization, has laid the basis for the transfer of power to the people of Namibia.

The Pretoria regime, in the face of mounting internal and external opposition, has opted to stiffen its intransigence. After rejecting the Western proposals for a "peaceful settlement of the Namibian question," Pretoria has followed Ian Smith's lead and has carried out an "internal settlement."

The Western proposals called for elections to be held under UN auspices, with the participation of SWAPO. The South African argument against this was that if elections were held without any restrictions, SWAPO would emerge victorious and might demand that Namibia control its own wealth and resources.

In mid-December the Pretoria clique declared that "elections" had been held in Namibia, and that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) had won. The DTA is headed by Dirk Mudge, an active member of the ruling National Party of South Africa, and since 1965 the head of the National Party's Namibian branch. The DTA is nothing but a creature of the Pretoria regime to counter SWAPO. Above all, the DTA is heavily financed by West German rightist circles and capital.

These elections, managed and rigged by South Africa, have been rejected by SWAPO (which was forbidden to participate) and by the world at large, including the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. Both the UN and the OAU have joined with the Namibian people and declared that there can be no settlement in Namibia without SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Nevertheless the West and the South African regime are coordinating their efforts to maintain their economic grip on Namibia. The West has rejected any UN sanctions against the South African regime, while the Pretoria clique is trying to create the facade of independence by putting into office black chiefs, who are not only unrepresentative of the African majority, but who also have to depend on South Africa to prop up their authority in Namibia.

In response, SWAPO has extended military operations into the heart of colonialist settlements that are concentrated in the South. In accordance with its function as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO has set the stage for genuine independence through a protracted people's war which will have tremendous repercussions in Azania itself.

AZANIA

In Azania ("South Africa"), the national liberation struggle has intensified and military action for the first time is emerging as a form of the African people's struggle. Opposition to the racist regime has been expressed for years in the form of sporadic mass actions, under the harshest form of state oppression in the world.

The African National Council (ANC) is the predominant force in the national liberation struggle. It believes that the Soweto experience destroyed the South African regime's aura of invincibility, and the ANC is engaged in organizational and military preparations to pave the way for the emergence of armed struggle as the major means of liberation.

The apartheid regime, in active military and police collaboration with Zionist Israel, is going ahead with its so-called "separate development" plan, and as a result Africans are being forcefully moved out of the urban "white" areas into the "black homelands." Africans have to work in the "white" areas, where their labor is needed to run industries, before returning at night to their racial confines.

The only alternative left to the African majority in Azania is to borrow from the experience of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The ANC, following the same patriotic path, is carrying out mobilization of the indigenous population, simultaneously with escalating armed struggle.

VIETNAM:

TASKS OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER LIBERATION

The following report comes from a Palestinian comrade who recently returned from a visit of several months to Vietnam. Three years after the Vietnamese people's heroic victory over US imperialism and occupation, Vietnam's problems are far from over. Huge economic, social and structural problems are left in all fields as a result of the barbaric war and decades-long imperialist occupation, and the tasks to build a new country and society are of no less revolutionary importance than the question of military liberation.

The Vietnamese Liberation Army turns to its second task: reconstruction

"From the moment of flying at a low level coming in to land at Hanoi airport, I experienced a more realistic view of Vietnam's terrain than had been created by imagination or news reels and press photos. Hamlets, villages and small towns are scattered everywhere, surrounded by a flood of green ricefields and other plantations. Lakes and ponds embroider this green carpet like glittering stars, creating a fantastic panorama.

"Three years after the liberation of Vietnam, Hanoi today is a centre of building and construction, crowded with long processions of citizens riding their bicycles in the early mornings and evenings to and from their construction sites, collective farms and other places of work. Along the main streets of the city you will find a great number of army trucks and jeeps, buses, trucks, minibuses, motorcycles and carriages pulled by buffaloes moving in every direction. Unlike the situation during the war, most military manifestations have disappeared from the streets of Hanoi.

DOCUMENTS OF US BARBARISM

"Even the war damage and destruction caused by US air raids against the capital and its suburbs are no longer visible at first glance, due to rapid reconstruction, except for some places which were saved to stand as a testimony to US crimes and barbarism. One of those places is located in one of the most crowded quarters of Hanoi, where more than 2,000 innocent citizens, most of them women and children, were massacred by an American B-52 air attack in 1972 at the time of concentrated US air raids against the capital and the main cities and targets in North Vietnam. At this place, there is a statue of an armed woman carrying her dead child in her arms near her bosam and looking proudly up to the sky to present an effective portrait of the Vietnamese people's heroic reresistance against US aggression.

"A leaflet issued by the People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City tells of the US crimes committed against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from February 1965 to December 1972 as follows:

— Three of the country's major towns were totally destroyed, three others heavily damaged;
— 28 out of 116 district centers were bombed, 51 of which were completely destroyed;
— 530 temples, pagodas and historical mounments were damaged by bombing, with a large number of them being totally destroyed;
— 491 churches and seminaries bombed;
— 40,000 draught-animals killed;
— All railroads and bridges destroyed;
— All river and seaports destroyed;
— Extensive damage to dykes and hydraulic systems;
— 350 hospitals bombed, of which 10 major installations were totally destroyed.

ECONOMIC TASKS

"Hanoi is a horizontally extended city divided by the Red River, and linked by its famous bridge. This bridge has gained its fame from its importance as a vital route for Vietnam's transportation across the river and the stories of heroism and steadfastness of its defenders against the US heavy raids. The people of Hanoi have a very simple and modest way of life. It is even hard to distinguish between the residents of the city and those of the villages of the countryside. All of them are dressed in traditional dress: white shirt and wide silky black trousers for women, normal dress for men with different colours.

"Although Vietnam is suffering from social, economic and technical backwardness, it is advancing rapidly to achieve the current five year plan, programmed to end in 1980, whereby the Vietnamese hope to enjoy a better standard of living. Agriculture, which is the backbone of Vietnam's economy, still depends on rudimentary methods and implements operated by the power of human or animal muscles. The urgent task of the government now is distributing electricity everywhere in the countryside and this will give a great push to the development of agriculture and rural industry. Also Vietnam suffers from the shortage of technical cadres able to operate newly established industrial firms. To solve this problem, Vietnam now has tens of thousands of students studying outside, especially in the Socialist countries. Reports said that Vietnam has a considerable potential for producing oil from the southern coast of the country in addition to huge amounts of minerals which are still unexploited.

"Despite this vast social burden and big unemployment problems, the Communist Party, government, army and people of Vietnam have taken numerous successful steps in overcoming these problems and made progress in expanding health services to every hamlet, establishing new schools and launching an anti-illiteracy campaign,land reform projects, rehabilitation centers for former lumpenproletariat people and defectors, and industrial and agricultural development projects.

"The experience of the Vietnamese Revolution is an example for freedom-fighters all over the world. It proves to them that despite all sorts of problems inherited from imperialism, a well-organized and mobilized people led by a revolutionary party with a concrete line and policy depending mainly upon its own forces and potentials, and armed with a just cause, will surely defeat a superior enemy which has a larger population, a strong economy and great material power.

SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE

"Vietnam's news media always tell the people of events and operations by Palestinian commandos inside the occupied territories, and the political activities of the PLO in neighbouring and foreign countries. Vietnamese officials never hesitate to express their militant solidarity with the Palestinian people and the Arab cause. Their standpoint concerning the Middle East conflict emerges basically from their understanding of the nature of the struggle of a colonialized oppressed people against an imperialist racist base in the heart of the Arab world. According to their foreign policy, they give all possible support to the national liberation movement fighting for national salvation, freedom and social progress."

Devastation caused by U.S. air raids

ALGERIA:

"OUR INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE INCOMPLETE..."

With the death of the late Algerian President Houari Boumedienne, the Algerian people, the Arab people, the Palestinian Revolution, the young countries of the developing world and the liberation movements have lost a prominent militant in their struggle against imperialism, Zionism and world reaction.

The taciturn, strongwilled 46-year old Algerian leader died after a coma of six weeks ending the life of the staunch soldier who sought the prosperity and revival of the Algerian people.

Houari Boumedienne, who ruled Algeria for 13 out of the 16 years of its independence, was born in 1932 in Clauzel, a village near Guemla, eastern Algeria. His real name was Mohammed Ben Ibrahim Boukharoubah. His father was a poor wheat farmer. He attended local schools and learnt Arabic. To escape enrollment in the French colonialist army, he fled to Cairo where he enrolled in Al-Azhar university, a leading seat of learning for Islam.

A MILITANT IN THE LIBERATION WAR

He believed that Algeria is Arab and after joining the Algerian guerilla war against French occupation and colonialism, he served in prominent military positions within the FNL. In 1960, he became Army Chief of Staff. The elections of 1962 brought him to the post of Minister of defense and vice-premier. In 1965 he attained the presidency following a bloodless coup against Ben Bella, the first Algerian President.

Inside Algeria, Boumedienne was faced with the urgent task to deal with the vast economic problems in the aftermath of colonialist rule. In confronting illiteracy, unemployment and the shortage of technical skills, he strove to transform Algeria from an agrarian society into an industrial one, depending on the national oil and natural gas resources as a basis for this process. Houari Boumedinne considered the friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries an essential element in establishing the basis of a national economy. He also sought good trade relations with the Western countries concerning industrial goods based on mutual interests, equality and non-discrimination. Thus, he ardently struggled for establishing a new world economic order putting an end to neo-neocolonialist exploitation.

A PROGRESSIVE ARAB LEADER AND STAUNCH SUPPORTER OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE

An impassioned nationalist Algerian, Boumedienne remained committed to Arab cause and especially the Palestinian cause. Just one day before the outbreak of the 1967 Middle East war, he declared that the Algerian struggle "is against the imperialists and their allies because it is impossible to isolate the struggle against Israel from the struggle against imperialism and colonialism."

Following the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, Boumedinne broke off diplomatic relations with the United States. During the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, he bought $100 million worth of Soviet arms for Egypt. Moreover, he sent an Algerian brigade to assist Egypt.

Boumedienne was a great patron of the Palestinian revolution, and contributed arms and training courses for its cadres because he believed in popular revolution and people's liberation movement as the only course for freedom, progress and peace. The Algerian stand towards the Palestinian revolution was the same as that of the revolution itself whatever the circumstances. Boumedienne was also one of the founders of the Arab "Steadfastness and Confrontation Front" in late 1977, following Sadat's capitulationist policy and his trip to occupied Jerusalem on 19 November 1977.

STRUGGLING FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER AND WORLD PEACE

Within a decade of Boumedienne's rule, Algeria has become one of the most advanced countries in the Third World. He attained a leading position in the movement of non-aligned countries. Moreover, he was a great supporter of world liberation movements. Liberation movements from many parts of the Third World were allowed to establish official missions in Algiers. Several missions, from Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique automatically become embassies with the triumph of their liberation struggles.

Boumedienne believed in world peace and prosperity. He initiated the 1974 Special General Assembly of the United Nations on the economic problems of the "Third World". He delivered an impassioned plea for the poor countries and then went to confer with then President Nixon on the Middle East crisis and world economic problems.

News of Boumedienne's death was received with pain by all progressive forces in the world. All regretted the loss of a militant leader who raised his country from a backward one to an outstanding advanced level on the world political and economic scene.

Leaders of the Arab "Steadfastness and Confrontation Front", among them PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, went to attend the ceremony of his funeral while others sent their condolences and high ranking officials to share the Algerian people their great loss. A total of 59 foreign delegations, including 9 heads of state, attended Boumedienne's funeral.

The Palestinian revolution, while bidding farewell to the veteran militant leader of the Algerian people, will remain loyal to the revolutionary principle to which Boumedienne dedicated himself, reaffirming that it will adhere to its objectives and course until Palestine is liberated, inspired by the country which sacrificed one million martyrs for its liberation and independence.

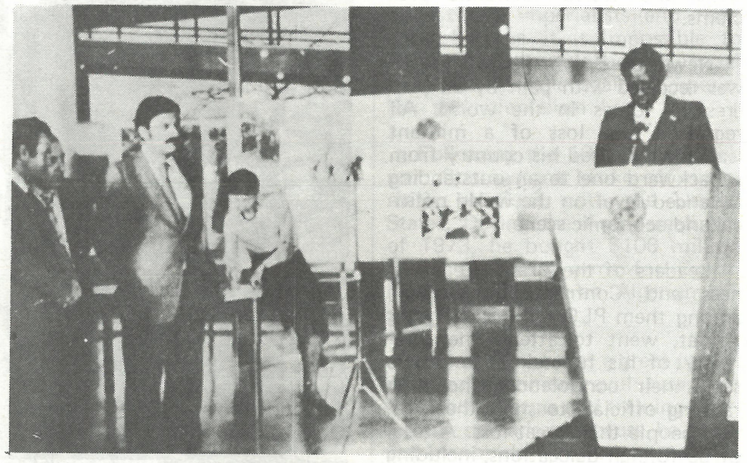
"ALGERIA'S INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE INCOMPLETE IF PALESTINE IS NOT LIBERATED." (HOUARI BOUMEDIENNE)

SOLIDARITY

WORLD-WIDE ACTIVITIES ON "PALESTINE" SOLIDARITY DAY

On 29 November 1978, the United Nations celebrated the International Day of Solidarity with the People of Palestine, and most of the world's capitals witnessed meetings, rallies, exhibitions, film shows etc. in support for the Palestinian people's rights and just struggle.

In **New York,** at the UN headquarters, a special session of the UN's Palestinian Rights Committee took place which was addressed by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. He underlined "once again the crucial importance of the Palestinian issue in any search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East". He added that "probably no other single subject has so consistently and deeply preoccupied our organization." The chairman of the committee, Senegal's UN ambassador Medoune Fall pointed out that, after 30 years of violence, dispersion and suffering, the problem of the Palestinian people still can be solved only if their legitimate rights to their land have been regained. He called on the UN to halt Zionist violations of international resolutions and conventions, and asked how Israel was claiming to achieve peace in the Middle East without recognising the PLO. He stressed that the great powers in the whole world had already recognised the rights of the Palestinian people.



Senegalese U.N. ambassador Fall addresses Palestinian exhibition at UN building (at the left Farouk Kaddoumi, head of PLO Political Department, and PLO spokesman Abdel Mohsen Abu Mayzar)

In **Geneva,** a meeting at the UN headquarters there gathered the ambassadors from the Arab, socialist and non-aligned countries.

In **Moscow,** a rally was held in the House of Friendship with Peoples of Foreign Countries, and the formation of a Soviet Committee of Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine was announced.

In **Prague,** the Committee of Solidarity with the Palestinian people held celebrations on this day, with the Participation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovac National Front.

In **Hanoi,** a popular rally was held. The president of the Vietnamese Internatonal Peace Committee, in his speech, confirmed the full support of the Vietnamese people, government, and party for the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO. All speakers denounced the Camp David conspiracies and stressed that a just peace could not be attained without the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In **Addis Ababa,** the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), in a special communique confirmed its full support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and stressed the necessity of recognizing Palestinian national rights including the right to return, to self-determination and to establish an independent state, as prerequisites to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It also urged the UN to enforce the Zionist regime's respect for UN resolutions.

In **Khartum,** a huge popular rally took place and was attended by Arab, UN and other foreign officials. Other gatherings took place in **Angola** and other African countries.

During a meeting held in **New Dehli,** the Indian Foreign Minister criticized the Camp David accords, adding that no solution to the dangerous Middle East conflict can be achieved unless the Palestinian people's national rights are recognized. He called for the implementation of all UN resolutions concerning the Palestine problem. Another solidarity rally took place in **Bangladesh.**

In **Cairo,** the **Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation** reiterated its support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and sent a cable to the UN. In **Damascus,** Syrian President Hafez Assad expressed Syrian appreciation to the UN solidarity initiative. The **International Union of Arab Workers,** in Damascus, strongly attacked the hysterical imperialist-Zionist campaign against the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, and called on Arab and international workers organizations to start actions in solidarity with Arab militants detained in Zionist prisons and with the Palestinian workers exploited by the Zionist racist occupation regime.

In **Baghdad,** President Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr sent a special cable to the UN's special Committee on Palestinian Rights; the General Union of Iraqi Women organized a whole Week of Solidarity with the Palestinian people.

A celebration was also held in **Djibouti** at the National Theatre. In the **People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,** radio and television devoted their programmes to the Palestinian cause. In **Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, Qatar, Kuwait** various solidarity activities took place.

In **Turkey,** the Turkish-Palestinian solidarity association held a celebration at the Libyan cultural centre in Ankara, in which several Turkish politicians, journalists, university teachers and other personalities participated. It was followed by a demonstration in the central square of Ankara, and a week of film shows and solidarity activities in all Turkish universities.

In **Melbourne,** the United Palestinian Workers association organised a rally, in which representatives of all progressive Australian parties and organizations took place. The speakers mentioned above all the ordeal of the thousands of Palestinian prisoners in Zionist jails; all expressed their full support for the PLO.

Similar gatherings, demonstrations and activities took place in various other countries, organised by friendly governments, and student, workers and other political organisations in **Jugoslavia, Hungary, Norway, Canada, France, West Germany, Britain.**

C.G.T. HOLDS WEEK OF SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

A week of solidarity with the Palestinian people, organized by the General Union of French Workers, the C.G.T., in cooperation with the PLO office in Paris, began on 11 December 1978 in France. A French-Palestinian workers' meeting was held the same day and was attended by a number of leaders of the French workers movement headed by the Secretary general of the Union, and on the Palestinian side by a number of officials from the General Union of Palestinian Workers headed by Ibrahim Haidar. The French delegation affirmed its full support for the Palestinian people's struggle to regain their national rights under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

FOREIGN MEDICAL TEAMS DEMONSTRATE SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE

The Palestinian cause and the health situation of the Palestinian people is greatly helped by the constant and devoted work of numerous nurses and doctors from countries all over the world. Their presence among our people materializes international solidarity, often under hard and dangerous conditions. We cannot enumerate here all the teams, which have come from the Arab countries, Bangladesh, Britain, France, Holland, India, Japan, Italy, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and West Germany and other places. Thus, the following two reports on the work of the Norwegian and Swedish medical solidarity groups are presented only as examples.

Norwegian medical team

NORWEGIAN TEAMS FOLLOW UP THEIR WORK

A Norwegian doctor and a nurse arrived in Lebanon recently. They plan to work for three months, and then they will be replaced by another team. This team is the sixth to come and work with the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon. The first medical team arrived in August 1976. The teams are sent by the Palestine Committee of Norway, an organization of solidarity with the Palestinian people, which also organises demonstrations and meetings in towns and villages, shows films and collects money.

POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS

Dr. Sverre Lundervalle explained to as why he came: "We think we can demonstrate our solidarity with the Palestinian people, not only by doing political work in Norway, but also by offering health services directly to the Palestinian fighters."

At the same time, the team's work in Lebanon will help solidarity work in Norway. After they return to Norway, the team will be able to give eyewitness acounts of the Palestinian Revolution and the situation in South Lebanon, where both the Palestinian and Lebanese people suffer from the terrorist attacks of the Israelis and their stooges, the fascist Phalangists.

CONTACTS WITH FIGHTERS AND CIVILIANS

The Norwegian medical team has set up its clinic in a Lebanese village. This way they can not only provide medical services to Palestinian fighters living in front-line bases, but also they can strengthen their solidarity with and support for the civilians of South Lebanon.

Dr. Lundervalle said he has been very impressed by the excellent democratic relationship that exists between Palestinian commanders and fighters. He said that they get along much better than their counterparts in the Norwegian Army. Nurse Lillian Festvag, the other member of the medical team, said: "Once a week we meet the fighters. We spend a lot of time talking with them, often giving them medicines or medical instructions for their minor health problems. We find that they like their militant life-style, despite its discomforts." Speaking of the difficulties the team faces in their daily work, Nurse Festvag went on: "The first difficulty is that of language, but we have a Palestinian nurse who can translate for us and she thus solves this problem. We have a shortage of certain medicines, such as iron tablets, and we lack a well-equipped laboratory. So we have to manage with simple methods. Nevertheless, we think that the medicines available in the clinic are sufficient for our present needs."

The team describes the health of the fighters as being very good. However, some of the Lebanese villagers they treat are still suffering from injuries caused by Israeli shelling of villages.

THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION WILL TRIUMPH

On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, Dr. Lundervalle said: "The Palestinian Revolution protects its independence and makes its own decisions. It will triumph because it has an independent policy. The fighters are deeply determined and have a strong will to fight, because theirs is a just struggle."

Nurse Festvag added: "One sign of the coming victory of the Palestinian Revolution is found in the Ashbal ("lion cubs"), children who are very eager to fight although they are under 14 years old. They are able to talk about their village in Palestine and describe it, just as if they had been there, although they were born in exile. A revolution with dedicated and militant children such as these will win sooner or later."

Both Dr. Lundervalle and Nurse Festvag admire the Palestinian people as being honorable and proud, endowed with great courage. The Norwegians have been moved by the determination of the lightly-armed Palestinians to oppose the mighty Israeli war machine, equipped with highly-sophisticated weapons by US imperialism. The team believe the Palestinians should be applauded and supported in their courageous struggle. Ever since the victory of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism in 1975, the Palestinian Revolution has become the front line for all national liberation movements aiming to free suppressed peoples.

SWEDISH SOLIDARITY GROUP

"If every Swede got the chance to visit the Palestinians living in their refugee camps, and thoroughly investigate their life under these hard circumstances, I believe there would be no need for solidarity groups in Sweden", declared Jim Downing, a member of a Swedish medical team in Rashidiah refugee camp.

Agneta Genberg, Yvonne Fredriksson, and Jim Downing are the three members of a Swedish medical team which arrived recently to work at a small clinic in the Rashidiah refugee camp in South Lebanon. In a conversation with *"Palestine"*, the Swedish friends reported on the experiences they made:

"We arrived here three weeks ago and intend to stay for some months. We are members of the Palestine-Sweden Solidarity Group and also members of the Health Workers Union of Sweden. We replaced another medical team which had formerly worked in this clinic, and yet another will follow us here at the end of our working period.

"We face some difficulties in our work, such as the difference of language, and the differences in the kind of equipment we use here with the equipment we are used to in Sweden. But we manage to solve these problems through our comradely relationship with the patients, and by giving treatments in a simple but sufficient way."

Answering the question of whether they received medicines and medical equipment from the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, or whether they brought these things from Sweden, they answered: "We usually bring with us a part of the medicine and some of the instruments we need. We receive the other part of our needs from P.R.C.S. Before, it was easy to get some medicines from the International Red Cross, but they stopped providing us with them. Now we buy some medicines from Lebanon because it costs less than it would to order them from Sweden. We used to bring our laboratory instruments from Sweden. For this we walk the streets of Sweden and visit houses to try and collect money, telling the people that we are collecting money for the help of the Palestinian people in South Lebanon. At the same time we explain to them the difficult conditions the Palestinian people live in, and we use pictures and another means of information to show that the Palestinians need their moral and material assistance."

Swedish medical team

When asked about the health conditions in the Rashidiah camp, Agneta Genburg answered: "We have been told that the Rashidiah camp is one of the best camps relative to others. But even so, we perceive conditions are not good enough. Children are sick and suffer from colored spots on their skins, caused from drinking unchlorified water, and they catch cold easily. The houses are not healthy, and lack clean water. So when any member of the family falls sick, the others will rapidly catch his disease because they are sleeping close to each other and are crowded in one or two rooms."

They told *"Palestine"* that they have a plan to provide 16 villages in South Lebanon with clean water. They will cooperate with the Lebanese National Movement in the South to send the villages the equipment needed for this purpose. But they believe that all these measures can serve the Palestinians only during this transitional period in exile, and is no substitute for the radical solution of their social and political problem through establishing a democratic progressive state of Palestine.

"We were pleasantly surprised that the Palestinian people, even though they live under hard circumstances, have a very kind spirit, and you can see in their eyes and faces a smile and willingness to fight. They are not depressed and will win. We appeal to all solidarity organizations and friendly and progressive committees to offer their help, to come and live among the Palestinian people, to judge with their own eyes the hard life of the people in the refugee camps", Yvonne Fredriksson said.

Concerning their social relationship with the people of the camp, Agneta Genberg said: "We have a good relationship with them, and usually we pay visits to the neighbors, drink tea and sit with them in the evenings. We discuss with the people's committee of Rashidiah the question of giving health instructions in general. Concerning children in schools and kindergarten, we cooperate with the "Mother and Child Society" of the Palestine Red Crescent. Also we will start to give training courses for first-aid with the help of the Red Crescent."

Jim Downing concluded: "The Palestinians should not give up their struggle and they must continue fighting until they establish the democratic state of Palestine. To see how the Palestinian fighters are living in their bases in South Lebanon makes one realize the steadfastness of this people. At the same time, the social structure of the Palestinian people that has been established in the refugee camps during the 14 years of the Revolution amazes you, because before the Revolution there was nothing. Today they have a completely functioning social structure, and this reinforces their political and armed struggle. What they lack now is their homeland to establish upon its land their already functioning social and political structure."

AT NOBEL PRIZE FARCE:

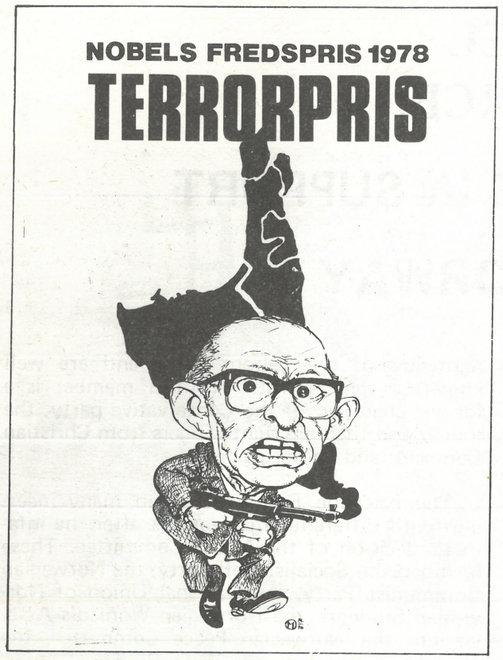
DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF PLO IN NORWAY

The "Palestine Front" – a Norwegian organization of soldarity with the Palestinian people – worked to have as broad a base as possible to arrange protest activities against the Nobel Committee's decision to award and present the peace prize on 9 December 1978, to the terrorist Menachem Begin and his cohort Sadat. The intention of this broad base was to call upon the Norwegian people, though parties and organizations and representatives, to show their support for the victims of imperialism and Zionism – the Palestinian people.

The Nobel "Peace" Prize Committee consists of 5 individuals appointed by the Norwegian Parliament but not responsible to it. The chairman and one other member belong to the rightwing of the Labour Party and are well known as pro-Zionists. A third member is a former chairman of the Conservative party, the fourth and fifth are right-wingers from Christian Democrat and Center parties.

The Palestine Front sponsored many meetings with different organizations after the infamous decision of the Nobel Committee. These included the Socialist Left Party, the Norwegian Communist Party, the National Union of Norwegian Students, the Norwegian Women's Association, the Norwegian Peace Committee, the Norwegian section of War Resisters International, the Pacifists and Christian students' movement of Norway, the Social Democratic Youth, Liberal Youth and Center Youth. In all

Oslo demonstration against Nobel Prize farce



the number of countrywide organizations taking part in activities was 15.

All of these organizations agreed upon a joint political program which, after some modifications, maintained the following principles:

1. The "Peace Prize" supports continuing occupation and suppression
2. Solidarity with the oppressed – not with the oppressors.
3. No peace without freedom for the Palestinian people.
4. Support for the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation.
5. Support the Palestinian people – call for recognition of the PLO.
6. Call for a free and democratic Palestine.
7. Carter, Begin, Sadat are engaged in a conspiracy against the Palestinian people.

PRE-DEMONSTRATIONS

In order to mobilize and inform the people, the Palestine Front published reports and announcements in the papers of the organizations taking part in the coming activities. They also managed to put two paid advertisements in the largest circulated newspaper in Norway. In addition, they distributed postcards, leaflets and established stands in the main streets and public centers, and used loudspeakers to address the Norwegian people.

On Friday, 8 December, Lea Tzemel, the anti-Zionist progressive Israeli lawyer, arrived in Oslo and held a press conference covered by local Norwegian and international TV, radio and news agencies. The Palestinian delegation arrived consisting of Abdel Jawad Saleh, executive member of PLO; Dr. Elias Shoufani, a writer specialized in Zionist affairs in the Institute of Palestine Studies; and Daoud Kaloti, PLO representative in Scandinavia based in Sweden. Abdel Jawad Saleh held a press conference on 9 December which was covered also by many TV and radio groups.

THE 10TH OF DECEMBER ACTIVITIES

The demonstration marched from the center of Oslo chanting slogans against Sadat, Begin and the Nobel peace prize committee. They also called for support for the PLO and the Palestinian struggle. The official number of the demonstration was 4250, according to radio and TV in Oslo. It was the biggest demonstration ever held in support of the Palestinian people. Daoud Kaloti addressed the demonstrators in Norwegian.

A public meeting was held in the Concert Hall where 1000 people were present. They were addressed by Abdel Jawad Saleh and later by the popular Norwegian actor, Rolf Soder; Arthur Svensson, chairman of the National Union of Chemical Workers; and Lea Tzemel.

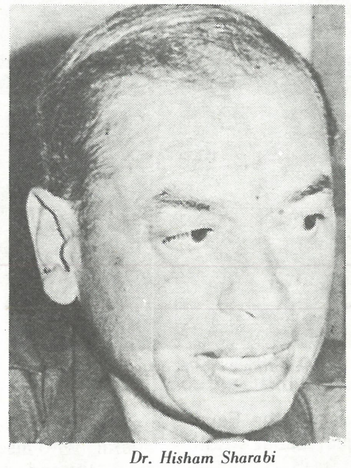
Many demonstrations were held in big cities of Norway, and other activities occurred in the form of distributing leaflets, collecting signatures, and fundraising. In all, more than 10,000 people in Norway demonstrated against the peace prize award to Begin and Sadat, and showed their solidarity with the Palestinian people by marching in the streets.

PALESTINE COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

The Palestine Committee (another Norwegian solidarity organization) took part in the demonstration and other activities arranged against the Nobel peace prize decision. They arranged one demonstration of a few hundred people outside the castle where the ceremony was taking place. Then they started a rally from one square of Oslo ending up at the University square. Several hundreds joined this rally, and the PLO representative in Stockholm, Daoud Kaloti, addressed the demonstrators.

In the afternoon, the Palestine Committee arranged a press conference with Elias Shoufani of the PLO. In addition, the committee joined with other political organizations and marched in large demonstrations in various towns of Norway.

N.A.A.A. DELEGATION VISITS MIDDLE EAST



Dr. Hisham Sharabi

In the last week of December 1978, a delegation from the National Association of American Arabs (NAAA) consisting of its President, Vice-president and Executive secretary toured the Middle East and met Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, King Khaled of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, President Sarkis of Lebanon, President Assad of Syria, Munif Razzaz, Deputy Secretary General of the Baath party of Iraq and the rulers of Qatar and Bahrain.

Dr. Hisham Sharabi, the President of NAAA, headed this delegation. Born in Jaffa, Palestine, in 1927, he left to the United States in 1947, expelled from his homeland as a refugee. He now works as a professor of history at Georgetown University.

During the delegation's visit to Beirut, Dr. Sharabi said that the aim of setting up this organization in 1977 was to enter the political arena as an Arab American lobby. The organization is not tax-exempt, and its budget, which was $221,000 last year, is financed by publishing a year-book covering the annual national convention of the organization in which Arab and American companies advertise, and from contributions.

Dr. Sharabi said: "We are in constant touch with Congress and the Department of State. We mean to tell President Carter if possible our impressions and recommendations... If the present US policy continues its direction, it will create instability, not peace, in the Middle East. We feel sorry that the US Administration has miscalculated or misread a number of events and attitudes."

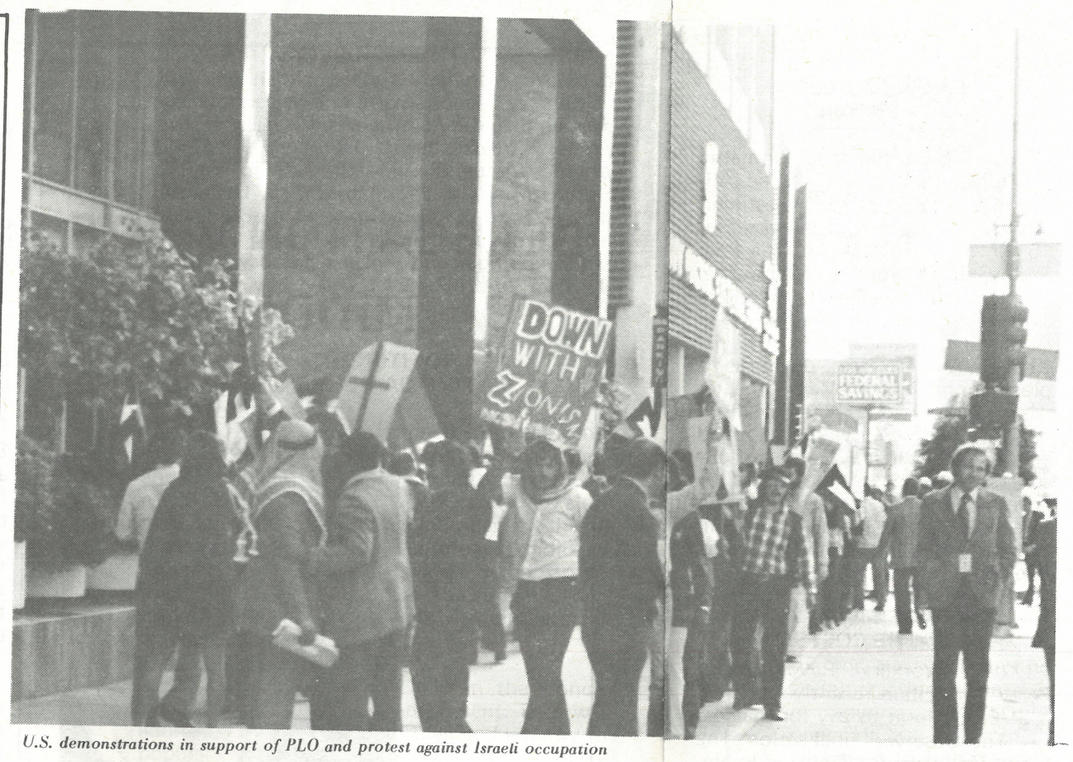
Dr. Sharabi expressed the view that the Baghdad summit has for the first time put the entire Arab world in one position. He said that King Hussein of Jordan will visit the US next February to convince the Administration that an Egyptian-Israeli treaty will be insufficient to achieve the goals that the Administration has set for itself, namely to bring peace. The second point is to tell the Administration that the PLO and the USSR must be included in any negotiations and any settlement. And if the US accepts the suggestion made by Hussein to supplement the Camp David accords, it will be relatively easy to find a way to include the PLO.

On the question of US public opinion and its attitude towards the Mideast crisis, Dr. Sharabi said: "There is a distinct process of change of attitude with regard to Israel. Some of the Israeli positions for the fist time have been questioned by an important number of congressmen... They have got an appreciation of the fact that the Palestinians are indeed the key to the kind of comprehensive settlement that the US Administration has set as its goal. Also I noticed this change within the media as well as among significant political and academic circles."

He added: "The Zionist lobby hardly receives any pressure from the US Administration. On the contrary, Vance has said very clearly that aid to Israel will never be questioned by the US in these negotiations. On the other hand we see considerable pressure by Israel on the US, and this problem lies in this unexplainable situation as a super-power continues to deal with this mini-state as an equal."

As one example of the Zionist lobby's influence on the White House, Dr. Sharabi mentioned the appointment of Mr. Sandoz as the head of the liaison office between the White House and the American Jewish community. Mr. Sandoz is himself a former head of the "American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the Zionist lobby in US. Dr. Sharabi said: "We protested at this appointment and sent a message to the White House calling for the appointment of an equivalent Arab American liaison office, as the Arab community is equally concerned with this issue."

FIRST PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS IN NEW YORK



U.S. demonstrations in support of PLO and protest against Israeli occupation

Palestinian Arab organizations in the U.S. and Canada held their first united convention at the Biltmore Hotel in New York on December 2 and 3. It was attended by some 200 representatives from seven organizations, in addition to American supporters.

Farouk Kaddoumi, Head of the PLO Political Department, was the speaker of the closing banquet of the convention. He stressed that the PLO rejects the Camp David agreements because they do not offer the Palestinians anything, and contradict UN resolutions which call for self-determination and the right of return for the Palestinians. Camp David, he said, imposes an American settlement on the area against the interests of the Palestinians and the Arab states.

Kaddoumi praised the Baghdad Summit Conference and stressed that the agreement between Iraq and Syria was a step towards strengthening Arab unity and the PLO, enabling it to face Israeli threats. He said that Egypt is out of the conflict temporarily but the Egyptian people will reject Sadat's policy and regain the Arab nation in the struggle for liberation of the land. He called on the Arab and Palestinian communities in the U.S. to support the PLO and to organise their efforts to explain to the American public the just cause of the Palestinian people. His audience twice rose for rhythmic applause and Arabic chanting of "Revolution Until Victory! "

Farouk Kaddoumi was then presented with a declaration signed by many national and regional organisations, including the AAUG (Arab American University Graduates), the NAAA (National Association for Arab Americans), the Arab Congress for Palestine, and the Ramallah Federation. It expressed full support for the PLO and affirmed that Palestinians everywhere constitute one united people with a common destiny. It also affirmed the right of Palestinians to return to their homeland, and to exercise self-determination and national sovereignty.

Shafik al Hout and Majed Abu Sharar, who also attended the meeting, stressed the need for Palestinian unity, for organisation and for more work to explain the Palestinian cause to the American public.

Sami Ismail, recently released from an Israeli jail, gave a moving account of his experience and of the brutality of Israeli prisons. He noted that he was imprisoned for his belief in Palestinian rights, and not for any crime.

RESOLUTIONS

The conference adopted a number of resolutions expressing full support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and called for the implementation of UN resolutions on Palestine. The conference condemned the Camp David agreements and criticised present U.S. policy, which attempts to impose an American solution in the region.

The conference resolved to meet again after six months to discuss methods of organising the Palestinian community.

Meanwhile, some three hundred Palestinians and Americans marched in silent protest Saturday night at the recent arrest of Palestinians on the West Bank, who were jailed for simply expressing their political views. They marched to the Israeli Consulate, to the Israeli Mission to the UN and to the U.S. Mission.

100 AMERICANS APPEAL TO CARTER ON PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

WASHINGTON (AP) **20-12-78 – U.S. Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota, author I.F. Stone, and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy headed a list of more than 100 persons who appealed to U.S. President Jimmy Carter of an end to human rights violations by Israeli authorities in the West Bank.**

The group said its protests concerned, among other things, the arrest and questioning of students at Bir Zeit University and the destruction of houses in the Ramallah area.

"As Americans concerned with human rights and the establishment of a just and lasting peace for all the peoples of the Middle East, we protest these actions by the Israeli military authorities, and call on our government to demand an end to them." said the letter, sent by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, a Washington-based group."

SOLIDARITY NOTES

CUBA AND IRAQ: NO PEACE IN MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT RIGHTS OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

A joint Cuban-Iraqi communique, issued on 20 December 1978 after the talks held in Cuba by Saddam Hussein, Vice-President of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, affirmed that a permanent and just peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the liberation of occupied Palestinian territories and the restoration of the Palestinian people's full national rights, including self-determination, the return to their homeland, and the establishment of their independent state on their national soil.

The communique also affirmed its support for the struggle of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Both sides showed particular concern for the current situation in the Arab region.

They strongly condemnded the Camp David agreements staged by the US as a "conspiracy against the interests of the Arab nation." Both sides also declared support for the liberation movements in Africa and denounced US imperialist policy of intervening in Latin America and supporting and encouraging reactionary and aggressive regimes there.

The two countries also signed an agreement for economic cooperation.

PASCHALIS STILL IN ZIONIST JAIL

Panayiotis Paschalis, correspondent of *Haravgi* newspaper, the organ of the Cypriot Communist Party Akel, is still locked up behind bars in Israel as a victim of Zionist efforts to terrorize and intimidate foreign journalists into not publishing the truth about the reality of the Israeli state.

FAWZI KHALED ALI RELEASED

After 43 days of imprisonmetnt in Zionist jails, Fawzi Khaled Ali, member of the United Palestinian Workers in Australia, (see *Palestine,* 15 November 1978) was set free. Following his return to Melbourne, the United Palestinian Workers association, which earlier had launched a campaign for Fawzi Khaled Ali's release, organised a press conference in Melbourne, at which the Zionist methods of torture and deprivation applied against Palestinian political prisoners were exposed; the Australian government was called upon to intervene with the Israeli regime in order to get more political prisoners released.

"THE VICTIMS HAVE TO PAY THE COSTS."

The "Workers Revolutionary Party" of Britain recently launched a $ 70,000 fund to pay for the cost of "The Observer" libel action. The plaintiffs were Gerry Healy, Vanessa Redgrave and Roy Bittersby (the actress and the producer in the famous film "The Palestinian"), Roger Smith, all WRP Central Committee members, and Michael Harrigan, a WRP member.

In the course of the three-week trial, the jury unanimously agreed that the plaintiffs had been defamed and that all the words complained of in "The Observer" article in September 1975 entitled "Vanessa and the Red House Mystery" were not true; but that nevertheless the plaintiffs had to pay the costs.

Vanessa Redgrave considered the verdict as "very distressing, for we proved our case but we lost" – anyhow "we are pleased it has cleared us and the party of the allegations." Miss Redgrave's brother Corin described the decision as a dangerous precedent "in which the victim has to pay the costs of a libel action."

The plaintiffs declared that they will raise the money depending on their supporters and well-wishers.

'PALESTINE' SHORT STORY

CANAAN THE PALESTINIAN CROSSES THE BORDERS

By Mahmoud Labadi

The world closed in on him, he no longer knew what he was doing, his burden had become too heavy. The children were growing up, and increasing in number, and he was no longer able to pay the school fees for the older ones. He was constantly thinking of what had happened to him, the man who had never held out his hand to anyone or known poverty or need in his life. He used to dream of his children becoming engineers, doctors or officers, and so he had sent them to private schools with high standards appropriate to his income when he was a respected and successful merchant in the main vegetable market, buying and selling various types of foodstuffs from which he made enormous profits.

He was constantly thinking of his future and that of his children. His eldest son Sami had left school and started work in a garage to reduce his father's share of the burden of merciless school fees and to help him cover his household expenses. The thing that pained him most was to see his son Sami returning home, his clothes dirtied with motor oil, when he had built up visions of him as an engineer of whom he could be proud before men and in his sessions with relatives and friends.

He was aware that learning was the basis of all progress, and he looked on those Zionist immigrants who had come from Europe with admiration. They were learned, they could read and write several languages, while the only language he knew well was Arabic, the language of his ancestors. His admiration of the foreign gentlemen became transformed into resentment against them because they had denied him the enjoyment of life, ruined his business and barred him from his house which he built through sheer hard work.

The world had changed for Canaan. It was no longer his world, but had become alien in his own land, his own country. He was no longer able to support his children, he had lost his home and become a refugee in his own

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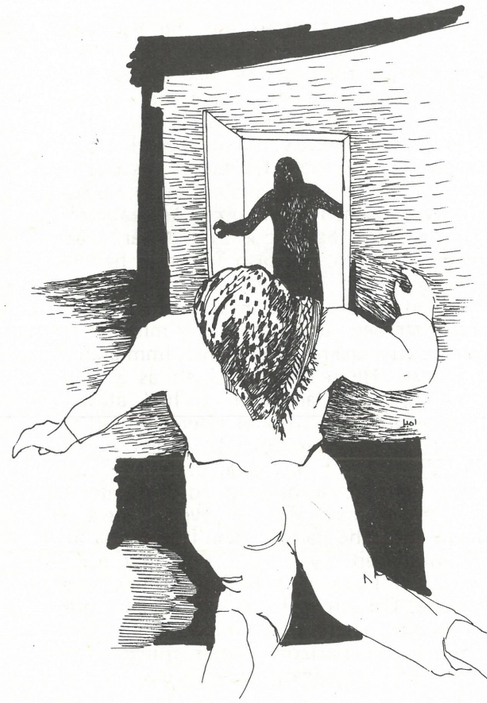
homeland. He now had to pay rent for that tiny room in which he lived, after he had been able to let the lower floor of his large and spacious house while he had lived on the upper floor in the old days. That house had been a source of pride and joy and he had withwashed it mauve so that it would stand out as unusual in the suburbs of Haifa, the city he loved where his beloved green Mount Karmel was, overlooking the Mediterranean coast. As for his shop in the commercial centre, which had been the source of his livelihood, his life and his vitality, that had been destroyed during the war and no trace of it remained. He had lost everything, and his only consolation was those children, his only treasure in this world.

After the situation had calmed down and the clouds of war had dispersed, Canaan began to live under a new state and a new regime. The law of the country, and even its language, had changed. Canaan had to learn a language that was difficult to him, under a new state and a new regime. Canaan tried to revive his commercial activity and open a new shop in the hope of being able to begin a new life, but most of the peasants who had brought their crops and vegetables to him had evacuated their land and crossed the borders to Beirut and Damascus, and Cairo had become sealed off. So where could he sell, when the new foreign master race refused to have dealings with Arabs? But Canaan did not despair. He thought of going into partnership with Eliahu, the Jewish merchant whom he had known before the occupation. But even the good Eliahu had changed and become snobbish under the new state, and was no longer the same man he had known. The partnership did not last very long before Eliahu cheated him out of some money, thus compelling him to break up the association on the basis of the proverb: play by yourself in order to be happy.

Canaan was constantly thinking, scratching his head silently as if seeking a solution to this dilemma that had befallen him. Even at night he was no longer able to sleep calmly and deeply. He sat for long hours with his wife after the children had gone to sleep, churning the matter over with her. "What's the solution, Umm Sami? My God, I'm not worried about anything except these children." Fearful thoughts swirled round in his head, as he muttered to himself: "If only I hadn't got married. If only I were alone like in the old days, things would be easy." But whenever he looked at his innocent children sleeping like angels, he would banish these hateful thoughts and his heart would fill with tenderness, happiness and pride. Whenever he sat near his children, touching their soft and fresh hands and feet as they slept, he wanted them to grow up rapidly or imagined that they were strong knights on horseback, striking with their swords at the necks of the alien invaders who had denied him a comfortable life and his children's future.

Canaan lived in the hope of recovering his house, which had been placed under the control of the Custodian of Absentee Properties under the new state. Even the rent on his house, which was now inhabited by immigrants from Europe, no longer belonged to him. Canaan was there of course, he had not left the country, but he was an Arab and so in the eyes of the law he was an absentee. How could they deprive him of his house which he had built with his own toil? He must get back the house and the rent due to him, he could prove that he still had the title deed from the British Mandate days. So he decided to go to the Department of Absentee Properties with the title deed. He tried to explain the matter of the house to them, but the foreign gentlemen did not understand him and told him to get a Jewish lawyer to talk to them in their language. He did not despair, and his friends directed him to a lawyer who they said was excellent and helped Arabs. Canaan went to the lawyer Hammer and took his eldest son Sami along with him in case there was a language problem, since Sami had quickly learnt Hebrew in school. Canaan was seen in the street going to and from the lawyer, accompanied by his son Sami who had become his personal interpreter. But the question dragged on and did not progress as fast as he wanted. Canaan's financial state worsened, his debts grew, while the lawyer wanted money and demanded more every day, or else he would drop the case and his house would be lost.

Canaan often told his children about his former successes in the good old days. He told them about the big, mauve-coloured house which he had not inherited from his father who had died leaving no inheritance. He told his children proudly about his accomplishments and successes which he had achieved with the



sweat of his brow, without charity from anyone. He often thought of taking his children to the mauve house, but he would put off the idea in the hope of obtaining a definite promise from the lawyer. Canaan constantly yearned for his house which he considered part of his flesh and his heart, and longed to work in his garden planting potatoes, tomatoes, guava and mulberry trees and clear the ground of harmful weeds as he had done in the past. He was torn with anguish whenever the children asked to go to the house, and he would make up excuses and lies to pacify them, make them forget and busy their minds with other things. Once his feelings overcame him and, bowing to his children's wish and insistent demands, he decided to do as they asked. Canaan summoned up all his courage, for how could he show cowardice in front of his children, when he considered himself a model for them? He took the children and went to the mauve house which he had not visited since he had been forced to leave it during the war. And how painful it was for him to see that the garden of the house was neglected and the new doors had become old and battered. He hid his pain and anger, for he had wanted the children to have the same impression he had always conveyed in talking to them: he did not want the image of the house to be shattered or his achievements of which he had so often told them to be belittled in their eyes.

Canaan went towards the door of the house, taking a step forward and a step back. He gathered up all his courage in spite of the hesitation that gripped him. He thought of turning back and giving up the idea before knocking on the door, but he was ashamed in front of the children. How could Canaan be a coward in front of his children, when he had always taught them to be upright and fearless? Canaan knocked on the door timidly, and an old woman opened it and looked at him questioningly without speaking. Canaan pulled himself together, swallowed, hesitated, and then said: "Hallo, Madam." But her suspicious gaze had him tongue-tied. She interrupted him in broken Arabic: "What do you want? Who are you?"

"I... I'm Canaan, Madam. I... I'm the owner of this house, sister. I don't... I don't want anything. We've just come to visit our house. The children..."

She interrupted him, screaming: "This isn't your house! You go away! I call police!" On hearing the word police, Canaan's blood boiled and he nearly fell on her and killed her. But he began trembling with anger and feer of the police and his feet almost gave way under him. He almost fell to the ground and without knowing how found himself in the street with his children holding his hands and leading him away to avoid harm befalling them.

Canaan went on pestering the lawyer with more enthusiasm than before to demand his house back. He swore to leave no stone unturned in order to get that grey-haired old woman who had come from Europe out of his house, even if it meant paying the lawyer all the money in the world. Canaan made frequent visits to the lawyer and the Department of the Custodian of Absentee Properties with his son, his personal interpreter on difficult missions to the foreign gentlemen. Canaan wished he could learn that tortuous Hebrew language like his son Sami, whose fluency he envied. But age takes its toll, and Canaan was over 50 years old. If he were still a young man, things would have

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been different. But in the depths of his heart he refused to learn the language of the invaders, in spite of the proverb which says: "Whoever learns a people's language is safe from their mischief." He hated these invaders, and so for him to speak in their alien language would be a humiliation for him, since to him it symbolised suffering, homelessness, war and the grey-haired old woman who was living in his house, drinking his sweat and denying him the fruits of a lifetime's toil.

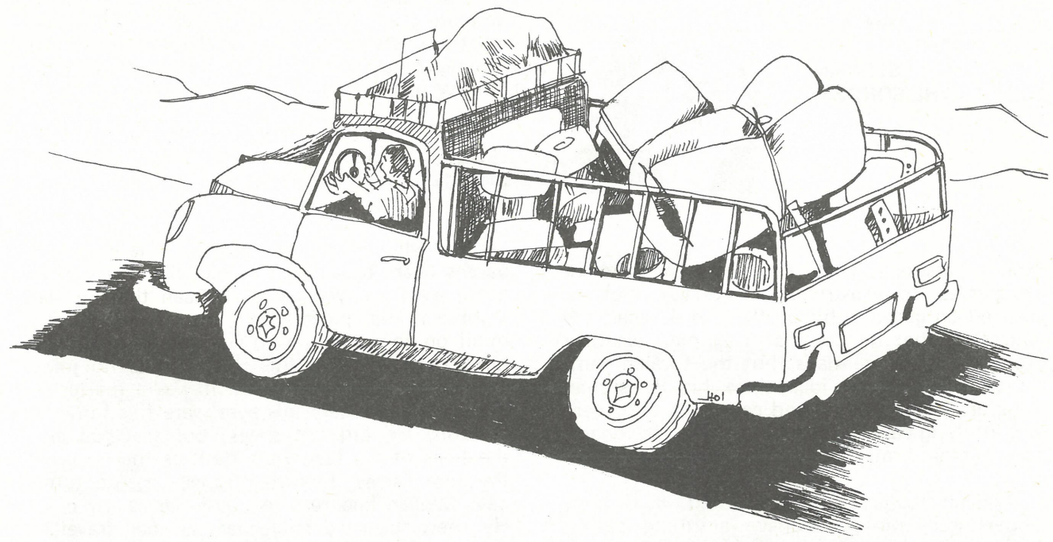
Canaan had no success with the lawyer or with the enemy's Department of Properties. How could he succeed when the lawyer was a Zionist like them who did not like Arabs, and why should he help him secure his rights from the Zionist state? The lawyer kept procrastinating and demanding more payments in return for promises which were never fulfilled. Canaan had made many payments, some of them borrowed from his friends, to no avail. And so Canaan began gradually to lose hope and consider breaking off contacts with the lawyer and his visits to the Department of the Custodian of Absentee Properties, since every time he went to see them he felt that they were making fun of him and only wanted to humiliate him. When the lawyer asked him for the latest payment he decided not to return to him and to cut off all contact with him, and to entrust things to fate and forces greater than he.

Canaan thought at length about how to solve the problem, but he always hoped that things would change, that his business and his position in the market would improve, since things could not go on this way and the night must come to an end. He tried to forget the question of the house and continue going to his shop. He had decided to reactivate his shop and gain a new status in the market, but circumstances did not help him. He always faced difficulties like the heavy taxes he had to pay the state, apart from unpleasantness with customers, particularly the new immigrants from Europe who treated him with contempt simply because he was Arab. Whenever he tried to forget his tragedy, problems arose to remind him that he had become a stranger and was no longer in his natural place, that he did not belong to these foreign gentlemen. This country was no longer his, he had become an outcast in his own homeland, the land of his ancestors where he had been born and on whose bosom he had been raised.

Canaan greatly regretted that he had not evacuated as his brothers, relatives and friends had done during the war. He had always felt that he was braver than they since he was not afraid of these invading Zionists. He had refused to leave the country, in spite of the dangers surrounding him and his family, as others had done, and preferred to remain in his homeland although he had been forced to leave his house and go to another one in the war, fearing for the children. He also felt that he did not care, that this war did not concern him since he had always kept away from politics and had never been involved in any military or political activity against the Zionist immigrants or the British. He regarded himself as a merchant, not a politician, and so had always hoped to return to his house after the battles between the warring armies had ended. When his wife Umm Sami had urged him to leave during the fighting, he had replied obstinately: "Listen, good woman. My God, even if the sky falls down into the earth I won't leave Haifa, and I'll never quit my home." But now, after seven years of living in humiliation under the Zionist state, Canaan lost hope that conditions would improve. There was not even a glimmer of peace on the horizon, rather things were becoming more complicated day by day.

One night, Canaan was sitting as usual discussing the situation with his wife: "What should we do, Umm Sami? My God, the situation's no longer endurable. Here we've been for seven years, living in hope, but we're like people living in a huge prison, we haven't had a trip or gone out." He bowed his head and let out a long sigh from the depths of his chest, and then went on: "My God, all I'm afraid about is the children. We've grown old and they have a future ahead of them. It's a shame for children to leave school." He went on talking to his wife as she sat in front of him on a rush mat, absent-mindedly, with her hand on her cheek, propping up her head with its greying hair. "My God, I'm thinking, my dear, we should join my brothers in Jordan. Life would be better there, and at least the children would learn. There the world is open to Damascus and Beirut, and my brothers would give us a bit of help to start."

As if waking up from her reverie and speaking hurriedly, Umm Sami replied: "But how, man, when the borders are closed? " From the tone of her voice he felt that she agreed with him, and a gleam of determination shone in his eyes as he stared far into the horizon. "Tomorrow, tomorrow I'll go to the Emigration Department and ask for an exit visa to Cyprus or direct to Amman."



Canaan did not sleep at all that night. He stayed wide awake, his nerves tense, calculating and planning. He waited with great patience for dawn to break. It seemed to him as if he had found a way out of the impasse: the solution was to leave. In the early morning Canaan went to the Emigration Department, his heart full of hope. He asked about the procedure and put in an application to travel and emigrate with his wife and seven children outside the country, to Jordan.

At noon Canaan returned home as if he had thrown a heay weight away from his shoulders. He appeared, laughing and playing with the children. Then he began making plans for the journey, and talking to his wife and his friends in the cafe about his intention to go to Jordan. His main concern became not going to the Custodian of Absentee Properties to demand his mauve house, but going to the Emigration and Passports Department to ask about his request and when he could travel. Every time Canaan talked to his wife he would reassure her that he had met Rubenstein, the foreign gentleman in charge, who had promised him it would go well. Thus he began to prepare himself for the journey. He sold his shop and began to reduce his possessions and furniture as much as possible, since his trip, Canaan thought, had become imminent. He began calculating every detail of the journey, large and small, and the suitcases he would take with him. He discussed the trip at length with his wife Umm Sami, and how they would travel, at times imagining himself on the deck of a ship sailing to Cyprus, or crossing the armistice line with his family eastwards to Jordan. He visualised the reception his brothers and friends would prepare for him, the parties and sumptuous meals. In this way he would spend his evenings, reviewing the film of his memories with his friends in the bygone days before the war, the good old days, and the pleasant days that awaited him.

Thus the days went by, with Canaan talking every day about his trip and preparing for his departure, but he was still stuck in the same place. He became tired of waiting. Eight months had passed and he was still waiting for the answer and going at least once a week to the Emigration and Passports Department to inquire, and the foreign gentlemen would procrastinate. Each time they would put a complication in his way which he would have to overcome. After a long wait, they told him he could not obtain an Israeli passport since these passports were not given to Arabs, and Jordan would not admit him to its territory on an

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Israeli passport. They suggested the idea of emigrating to Australia or Canada, but he insisted on going to his brothers in Amman. He suggested that he use his Palestinian passport from the Mandate days, but the foreign gentlemen rejected the idea since his Palestinian passport was outdated and cancelled, and there was nothing called Palestine in their dictionary, so they told him.

Canaan was greatly disappointed. He did not understand politics or have anything to do with political questions. But this meant he would remain in prison. More important, it would destroy his children's future. It was a great shock for Canaan, but he kept his self-control and preferred not to show his sorrow in front of his friends who had begun to make fun of him and his plans. He preferred to keep to himself and not to sit in the cafe playing backgammon which he loved and which eased his worries somewhat. He went on for nearly a year talking about his journey and his business projects that he would carry out between Amman and Damascus. But now he had lost everything, he was not even allowed to hope. Canaan had thought that the question of emigrating would be easier for him than asking for his mauve house back. He understood the question of the house. The foreign gentlemen had taken the whole country, they had taken all the houses, so why should they not take his house too? But as for him emigrating, he did not understand why they should place obstacles in his way. What was the sense in that? To hell with passports and these borders which he had never heard of before, and to hell with all these new laws that had descended upon him from these immigrants who had come to the country, bringing with them war, destruction and dispersion.

At night, after the children had fallen asleep, Canaan sat as usual discussing the matter with his wife. "What can we do, woman? The world has closed itself to us. We can't get our house, work's at a standstill, and even emigrating is forbidden. What's the solution?"

"We must put our trust in God," she replied despairingly. "This is fate. God knows best what's in store for us, man." But Canaan did not recognise fate. His eyes shone with another kind of gleam.

"There isn't any fate. If the borders are closed, I'll open them. We must travel, we must get out of this prison. We can't stand this life any more."

"But how, Canaan, how?" Here, Umm Sami's heart began to tremble. She knew after living all these years with Canaan that he was stubborn and pig-headed, and if he set his mind on something, even God would not make him change it. But this time it was no joke. The family had grown, and it was a matter of life and death. Canaan's eyes were fixed on the horizon. He did not speak, but frowned and the lines of his face were dark as the rocks of the bare Karmel mountain range on an autumn day. Canaan had resolved to leave at any cost. He knew the road to Jordan. He had travelled round the country so much that he knew every inch of it. He even regarded himself as stupid for having wasted his time by hanging around the doors of the foreign gentlemen. It was his country, so why should he go and ask a foreigner who had come from Europe for permission to travel? He had never known the meaning of humiliation in his life until this new Zionist state had come into being.

The next day, Canaan awoke unusually early and left the house, walking purposefully and with determination showing on his brow. Umm Sami did not know what was going on in his mind, but a sense of fear began to grip her. She felt for the first time that she was at a crossroads, and she was afraid. An hour or two passed, and then she saw a small pick-up truck standing in front of the house. Canaan stepped down from it, his face set with resolve. Without anyone noticing them they carried the children and some light suitcases which had been packed for the journey for about a year, and put them in the back of the truck. Umm Sami called out to her neighbours that she would be back two days later after visiting her sister in Nazareth, and the car set off on its way, racing against the wind, eastwards to the border.

The following day Radio Israel announced that an Arab family of nine persons had been killed on the eastern border near Affula, after the vehicle in which they were driving entered a minefield on the Israeli-Jordanian border None of them survived.

"LOTUS PRIZE" AWARDED TO ABU SALMA

Yasser Arafat congratulates Abu Salma

Thousands of people, including many writers and poets, gathered at the Arab University of Beirut on 10 December 1978 to honour Abu Salma, one of the great Palestinian poets. Abu Salma was awarded the "Lotus Prize for Literature" endowed by the Afro-Asian Union of Writers. He has contributed not only to Palestinian poetry but, through his poems, to the Palestinian struggle itself.

Abdel Karim Alkarmi (Abu Salma) was born in Toulkarim, Palestine, in 1907. His father was the learned Sheikh Sa'ed Alkarmi. He received his elementary schooling at Toulkarim, then at Sult (Trans-Jordan), and finally finished high school in Damascus. In 1927, he was assigned as a teacher of Arabic in Jerusalem. At the same time, he enlisted as a student in the Law Institute where he met his old friend, the Palestinian poet Ibrahim Toukan. He started to publish his poems in Palestinian and Arab newspapers. He joined Ibrahim Toukan on Arab Radio in Jerusalem, but after a short time he resigned and opened a law office in Haifa and continued this work until the tragedy of Palestine in 1948.

After 1948 he fled to Damascus (Syria). There he contributed a

Abu Salma

"LOTUS PRIZE" AWARDED TO ABU SALMA

great deal to the fields of culture, literature, and information. He published three collections of poetry: "The Refugee", 1953; "Songs of my Homeland" 1959; and "My Pen comes from Palestine", 1971. Many of his poems have not yet been published as books. In recognition of his literary achievements he was awarded the "Lotus Prize for Peotry" in 1978.

The celebration at Beirut University started with the national anthem followed by revolutionary songs of the poets Tawfik Zayyad, Mahmoud Darwish, Rashed Hussein and Samih El-Kassem. These were performed by the Nouh Ibrahim-Moustafa Al-Kurd troupe.

The novelist Tawfik Fiadh read a message addressed to Abu Salma from the writers of those parts of Palestine occupied in 1948. It was signed by 27 writers and poets. They praised the poetic contribution of Abu Salma to the defence of the Arab Palestinian People's rights. The message confirmed that "even though the borders separate us, they are unable to prevent your poems from reaching us".

Then Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed the attendants, saying that "to honour Abu Salma is to honour the fighting front of Palestine, where the Arab nation stands defending its existence, dignity and civilization against Zionism and Imperialism." He recited some verses from Abu Salma's poetry, including the following:

"If I am killed, my comrade-in-arms, replace me!
Carry my weapon, fear not the blood dropping from my wound!
I am not dead...
I am still calling you to carry on fighting."

The Writer's Union of Lebanon took part in the celebration. Their General Secretary, Ahmed Abu Ass'ad, said: "Beirut today has become a center of Arab national struggle, poetry and literature, and thus we are gathered to honour Abu Salma, one of the symbols of the Arab liberation movement and the Palestinians' revolutionary existence." The Lebanese National Movement was also present, and represented by Ina'am Ra'ad, Deputy of the Central Political Council. He stressed the importance of Abu Salmas' militant poetry, and how such verse encouraged the Palestinian people to continue their struggle against the enemy. The career of Abu Salma itself is one aspect of national struggle inside Palestine and in the refugee camps in Syria after the 1948 tragedy.

The poet Mahmoud Darwish, a previous winner of the Lotus Prize, addressed the audience on behalf of the Palestinian Writers' and Journalists' Union. He said: "Abu Salma, lend me your arm to see the field in Palestine which I played in 30 years ago. Around you now is a generation who have only touched Palestine through your hand. Palestine goes and Palestine comes, but our Palestine still exists in poems, absorbed by a new-born child in a refugee camp or near a jail. Our country is within us in your poetry and our borders are from our blood to your blood. Through revolution, we are taught how to change words into movements, which enable us to build our own chosen country, brick by brick and stone by stone. Such poetry creates the country, and the revolution protects the poem."

Finally, Abu Salma himself addressed the audience. He stressed that the task of poetry is one that "emerges from the soil of the homeland... portraying the struggle of the people, and the suffering of workers and peasants, the aspirations of the refugees." He added that "a poet is the pioneer of the people who are ready to sacrifice their blood, and he defends through his militant word the homeland and freedom, as the knight uses his sword to defend his countrymen and freedom."

"MY PEOPLE'S BLOOD"

BY ABU SALMA

My people's blood is a torch of fire
Which processions of revolutionaries have borne.
Sometimes it blazes up in Jabal Al Nar,[1]
And sometimes in the Jordan Valley.
In its light shines Palestine
And the history of her great people.

* * *

Palestine, in your name we stand
In the battlefields facing every danger.
How they wished to extinguish Palestine's name,
But they will not suppress the brilliance of jewels.
Every sword edge gives light to suns
And every sun lights a thousand days.

* * *

My people march forward over the flames,
Erasing all dishonour with the fire,
They pass over the bridge of death,
Giving life to those who are free.
In the blood-red battles my heart is with them,
And their wounds are laurel wreaths.
I am with them in the tents on the wide horizon,
With the bitter cold and the storm.
In Palestine, we will outlive time,
Enduring as the mountains and the rivers;
We are the songs of the Yarmuk, and Hittin,[2]
We are the seedlings in the grains
Of her fragrant soil, which embrace the rocks
To face the winds and the rain,
We are her olive trees, deeply rooted,
We are within her, behind everything green,
We are the yearning of the orchards,
among the meadows and plains,
And the yearning of the dew and the flowers.

* * *

I had hoped our leader, who raced against death
To live in the heaven of the righteous,
Would be the leader of our victory in the battlefield,
But I see he became a symbol of victory
When the martyr for the people died on the Canal.
And the army shone forth as the highest beacon.
He who leads an army to martyrdom
Is not like one who leads his army to flight.

* * *

You who rule in the name of my country,
What are you plotting behind the scenes?
Every regime that oppresses the people
In their name is destined to perish.
Summit meetings? What summits, when Palestine
Is behind tears and prison walls?
Summits of authority? What summits of authority
Are built upon baseness and nonentities?
After Jerusalem, these capitals have become
A corner in the museum of antiquities.
Barada, the Euphrates and the Nile
Are flowing tears if the Jordan is not regained.
I am looking for those who have concealed themselves
In the blackness of oil and oil wells.
I have seen nothing of them, since the defeat,
Except for the news of their scandals.

"MY PEOPLE'S BLOOD"

The night conceals the summits of the great,
But in the morning there is the decadence of the petty.
I would have been consoled if a woman
Had slapped them on the day of that meeting.
They resolved to march to the sacred struggle,
But they started to march behind resolutions.
They denied us the freedom to die, in order
To vie with each other for colonialism's favour,
Then they set up borders between countries
Which the will of fate had united,
And exploited the blood of sacrifice, to hide
The burdens of guilt that they bore on their backs.

* * *

Our blood will not flow in vain, for Palestine
Will obliterate these great criminals,
Before her, dominion and power will fall
And the arrogance of the Dinar will collapse.

* * *

Rulers! What is the use of your rule
If it has to hide behind a slogan?
You sing about the months and the days...
But alas for the lifetimes that were lost
June has wiped out the months of revolutions (3)
From July to March.

* * *

I have gathered up sorrows in every path,
They are the possessions of the homeless
in their journeys.

Bearing my words, I embark upon the sea
In all its fearfulness, and cross the deserts.
My blood-drenched words are swords
Which the fires have forged into my poems.
I passed through the darkness, searching for the dawn
On the shore, after the shore of sanctuary.
It is the people alone who keep their promise
Of victory, as a banner for national pride,
They alone who, in the paths of the night,
Lead the army of the morning and the light,
Arriving thirsty at death and the heights
Tasting the bitter flavour of dust.

* * *

You who wield our pens for freedom,
Defend the sanctity of thought.
The noble ink, like blood on the battlefield,
Is free, and makes war against evil.
Defend the dignity of the word and humanity
Within the horizon of these lands,
With words that are filled with my people's simplicity,
Not myths from a borrowed fog.
And plant fire in the sky and on the land
Until our most precious homes are restored.

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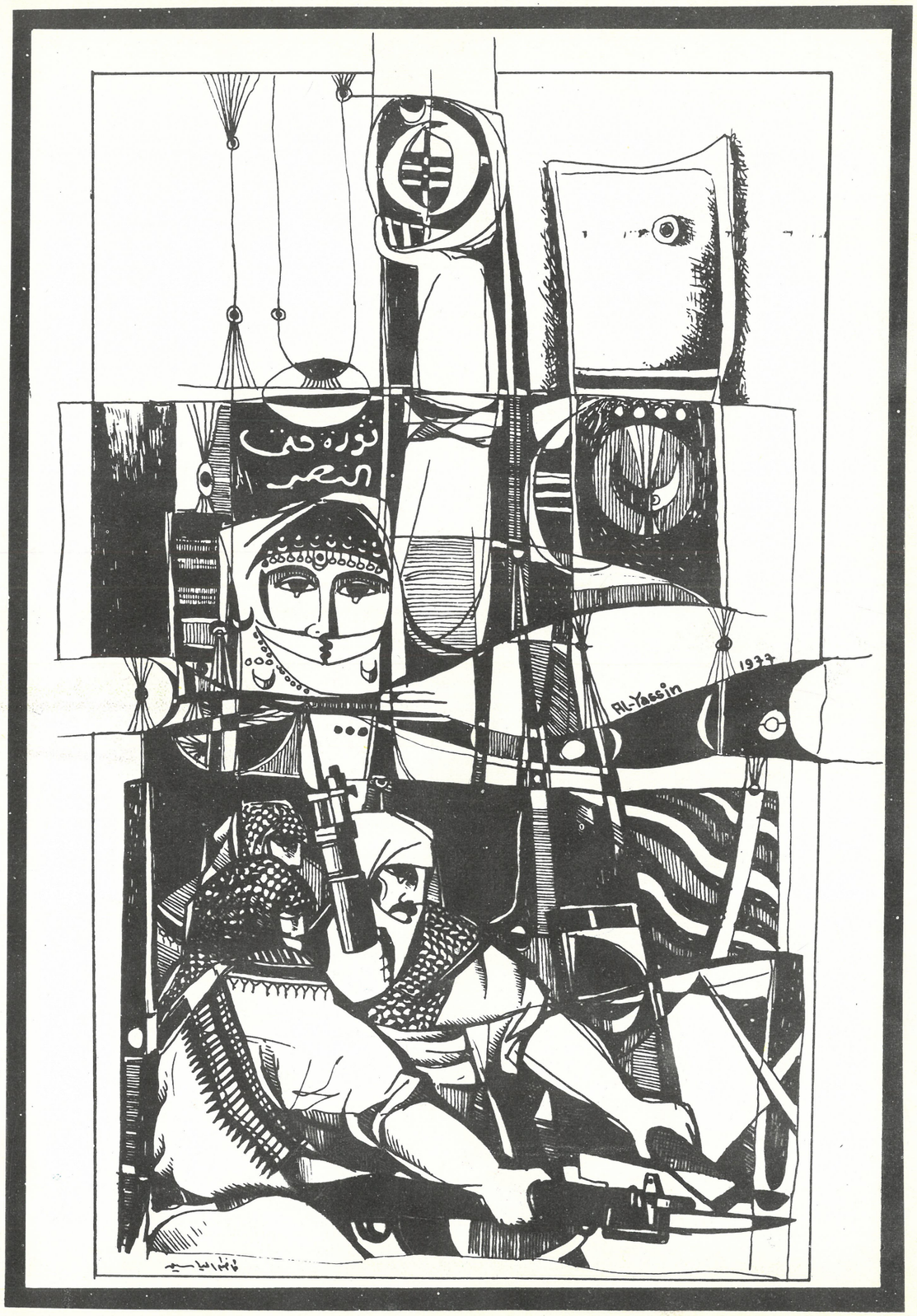
(1) means the "mountain of fire", a symbolic name for Nablus in West Bank.
(2) Yarmuk and Hittin: two historical battlefields in Palestine during the 8th and 11th centuries.
(3) The war of June 1967; July 1952, Egypt revolution; March 1964, the Ba'athist revolution in Syria.



... AND THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

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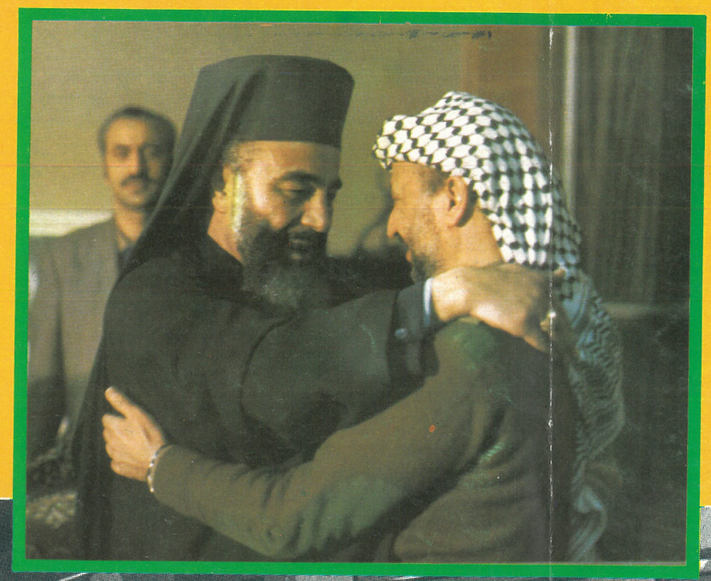
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